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A Winter's Research and Invention: Reverend James Evans's Exploration of Indigenous Language and the Development of Syllabics, 1838-1839.

by

Paul Michael Hengstler

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

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Department of History and Classics

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Abstract

This study constitutes an examination of life of nineteenth-century Methodist missionary James Evans at a particular moment in time, the winter of 1838-39, and at a particular place, Fort Michipicoten on Lake Superior. It is a case study of Evans at a point in his life prior to his presentation of Cree syllabics, but shortly after his initial work on Ojibwa syllabics. Prior historians have largely ignored Evans's life in this period as a "lost winter," a time when he was merely stranded in the wilderness. Few have questioned how Evans formulated his ideas about language, or why he was interested in Cree and Ojibwa in the first place. Many of these questions can be answered in examining a fifty-page writing project that Evans compiled while at Fort Michipicoten, a workbook, which undertakes a comparative study on the language, customs, and religion of Indigenous people across the globe.

The study of this workbook is important as it contextualizes Evans at a particular moment in time, prior to the unveiling of Cree syllabics. Thus, it helps us to more fully understand how and why an evangelical missionary became so keenly aware of and interested in Indigenous languages. By closely analysing Evans's writing in the workbook and focussing on the books that he read in the well-stocked post library we can better understand how his time at Fort Michipicoten informed and shaped his understandings of Aboriginal people and their languages. This study will place on view for the first time an understanding how this missionary's thinking evolved in the context of the imperial age of British Methodist mission work during the most notable decades of nineteenth-century book publication about the British Empire.

For Lisa

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My first note of thanks must go to Reverend Dr. Gerald Hutchinson without whom, and his generosity of resources, time, and coffee, I would never have completed this project. It is with great respect that I call Gerald my friend.

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During two research trips to Ontario in the spring of 2002 and the winter of 2003 I was ably assisted by the staffs of the J. J. Talman Regional Collection at the University of Western Ontario, the United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Room at the University of Toronto. Special thanks is owed to Jeannine Green of the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library at the University of Alberta for her assistance in tracking down details on the third edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

I would like to thank my family: my aunt Nan McBlane who blazed a path for academics in my small town Alberta family, my dad Grant who gave me my love of history, and my mom Sandy who taught me to take on any project with all my heart. I also must thank Suzanne, Frank, Joy, Wyatt, Grandma, Granddad, Ivan, Marie, Lana and James for their patience, understanding and support.

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Introduction

A linguist and a Methodist missionary, often glorified, frequently demonized, James Evans (1801-1846) played a prominent role in the Canadian colonial project. Evans is best known as the inventor of syllabics, a notational system, which ascribes one symbol to invariably represent one sound in an Indigenous language.[1] Evans spent his career undertaking a "linguistic colonization," spreading Christianity among Indigenous peoples by learning their languages and translating the word of God.[2] While Evans's focus was always conversion, he serves as an excellent example of the complex motives that inspired many evangelical missionaries as they operated within the "extraordinarily intricate web" of empire.[3] Evans, like most Victorian missionaries, was a product of several environments: an evangelical and an intellectual in an evolving enlightened age,[4] he drew on both of these influences, scientifically studying Aboriginal languages with a

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[1] The syllabic system, which came to prominence in the 1840s under Evans's direction, used a variety of basic shapes manoeuvred through four positions to create thirty-six different linguistic sounds. For example, the symbols ∪, ∩, ⊃, and ⊂ would make the sounds te, ti, to, and ta. These basic sounds could be accentuated with a marker to indicate elongated vowel sounds; for example, ⊂ [with a dot over it], is tâ. A number of consonant sounds are made by compounding the symbols with accents. Appendix 2 provides a syllabic chart.

[2] Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 405.

[3] Jean and John Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), p. 183.

[4] For the purposes of this discussion I am looking to the enlightenment as the instigation of rational thought, and, thus, one strongly enmeshed with evangelicalism as "reason [that] declared to be probable what revelation declared to be true." See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), p. 63. See also: Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 71-73; Brian Gobbett, "Giants and Pygmies in the Morning of Time: Developmentalism and Degeneration in English-Canadian Anthropology, ca. 1850-1940" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 2003), pp. 22-25. Evans, although he would not have used the term enlightenment, would have defined himself in such a fashion and was certainly ensconced in enlightenment thought as we will see in the following chapters.

keen interest in finding human universals to prove monogenesis.[5] What is clear from examining the primary records that Evans left was that he was not simply acting as a missionary; he was acting as anthropologist, linguist, and scholar. By fully exploring his complexities we may better understand his life, and the impacts that he had on the wider society.

Evans's 'invention' of syllabics and the career that it spawned has largely been focussed, by historians, on the period after 1840, when, at the age of thirty-nine, he arrived in the Northwest as superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. This focus has misrepresented and misunderstood him. When he arrived in the west, he was an experienced missionary who had lived among Aboriginal people and studied their languages for more than ten years. However, little is written about Evans before those dramatic events in the west when he struggled against the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) for missionary space in its economic empire, accidentally shot his assistant, and was accused of sexual impropriety with a number of Cree girls. These troubled times and dark dalliances have coloured the scholarship on the man, focussing much more attention on his fall than on his ascent. Little scholarship has examined the early years of his career and the environment that formed his beliefs and ideas about religion, language, and Indigenous peoples; thus, many questions remain unanswered. What prompted Evans's interest in language in the first place, and to what extent did he use his abilities to achieve something beyond the scope of an evangelical mission? How did Evans develop

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[5] Monogenesis was the belief in a single origin to humanity, that all men were descended from Adam and the sons of Noah. In a more scientific sense it also meant that all men were of one species. For clear definitions and examples of monogenism see: George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, (New York: The Free Press, 1987), p. 26; and Jane Samson, "Ethnology and Theology: Nineteenth-Century Mission Dilemmas in the South Pacific," in Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, (Cambridge & Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), p. 109.

his syllabary, and what led him to the final, simplified, and exceptionally practical Cree script that he introduced at Norway House in 1840? In order to answer these questions we must look to Evans's life before 1840, and examine the many factors that influenced his language development and his life: evangelical religion, scientific thought, and contacts with fur traders and Native people.

This thesis examines Evans when he was struggling to tie many disparate aspects of his existence together. Trapped in a remote fur trade post in the winter of 1838-39, with a well stocked library and lively intellectual companionship, he developed a fifty-page workbook connecting the local Aboriginal customs, cultures, and languages to those of the Greek, Hebrew, and East Asian cultures. This workbook highlights the evangelical and scientific views that impelled Evans to investigate language and Aboriginal syllabic writing systems.[6] A thorough investigation into this document will provide much insight into Evans's role in the development of syllabics and a more complete understanding of his later missionary endeavours. In the workbook Evans traces human universals and devises ways of bringing North American Indigenous languages and cultures firmly into the brotherhood of man. Evans's surroundings at Fort Michipicoten on Lake Superior aided in the development of these ideas. I will analyse a number of the sources that Evans had available to him at the post, and how these scientific, Enlightenment-based records engaged Evans's religious beliefs to create a multifaceted catalyst for his linguistic investigations. Thus the 'invention' of syllabics that many cite as occurring in 1840 may be seen, in fact, to have had much deeper roots.

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[6] For the purposes of simplicity I will refer to the fifty-page workbook as 'the workbook' although this seems a highly inadequate term for such a complex document. In a later chapter of this thesis I will more closely examine the function and form of the workbook. James Evans, Workbook, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file 8.

Before proceeding with this examination of Evans's research and development of syllabics we must consider the Aboriginal origins on which much of his work would have been based. The majority of past scholarship simply takes for granted that Evans was the sole inventor of syllabics. Bruce Peel wrote in 1974 that

> [t]he Cree syllabic script, which contributed so much to the spreading of Christianity among the Indians of western and northern Canada was invented by the Reverend James Evans. During his residence at Rossville… Evans perfected the Cree syllabic characters…. Mr. Evans' invention of the Cree syllabic characters was an act of genius.[7]

There is little doubt that Evans was the driving force behind the development and wide distribution of the syllabic script. But other evidence stands in the way of Evans being proclaimed a "genius" and the lone inventor. Within the written historical record there is evidence of syllabic script predating Evans's work, the key piece of this being a stone tablet found by La Vérendrye in 1731 during his western journey of exploration:

> As they came far into the country… they met with a large stone, like a pillar, and in it a smaller stone was fixed, which was covered on both sides with unknown characters… they broke [it] loose, and carried [it] to Canada with them, from whence it was sent to France… what became of it afterwards is unknown… several of the Jesuits, who have seen and handled this stone in Canada, unanimously affirm, that the letters on it are the same with those which in the books, containing accounts of Tataria, are called Tatarian characters, and that, on comparing both together, they found them perfectly alike.[8]

This stone tablet, found about 900 miles west of Montreal and covered with syllabic-like characters, contradicts Peel's claim to Evans's sole 'invention'. This claim to 'invention' is also challenged by evidence found in Aboriginal oral traditions. Winona Stevenson has examined the Cree origins of syllabics and challenges the commonly held view that

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[7] Bruce Peel, *The Rossville Mission Press, The invention of the Cree syllabic characters, and the first printing in Rupert's Land* (Montreal: Osiris, 1974), p. 7.

[8] Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (London: J. Whitson and B. White, 1751); trans. John Reinhold Forster (Barre, Mass.: The Imprint Society, 1972), pp. 420-421.

Evans invented them. She provides a summary of how Badger Call, a Wood Cree from Stanley Mission, went to the spirit world and returned with "pieces of birch bark with symbols on them… [which] were to be used to write down the spirit languages, and for the Cree people to use to communicate among themselves."[9] As historians, we must not see this evidence as being contradictory, but rather complementary. Clearly, there are other explanations for the formation of Cree syllabics, which must be permitted to temper the written historical record. However, as anthropologist Vern Dusenbury has argued, we must not believe that no Englishman would be able to invent characters that were so radically different from Roman orthography.[10]

If Evans by necessity worked with many Indigenous people in the development of syllabics, he naturally learned a great deal from them and implemented what they shared with him. Our ability to tell whether Evans was an inventor or a plagiarist is limited, as he certainly will not tell us through the written record that he did not invent the syllabic script. Scholars arguing against Evans's 'invention' focus on Cree syllabics, neglecting or overlooking the earlier work that Evans did on the Ojibwa language and the strong similarities evident between the two. As early as 1836 Evans had approached the mission society trying to gain approval of this Ojibwa alphabet. When we examine the two syllabaries side by side, we can readily identify an evolution of Evans's characters (see Appendix 2 for the Cree and Ojibwa syllabaries). The Ojibwa system has a much larger number of characters, but many are similar in shape to, although different in function

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[9] Winona Stevenson, "Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Languages: The Cree Origins of the Syllabic System," *Oral History Forum,* vol. 19-20 (1999-2000), pp. 20-21.

[10] Vern Dusenbury, *The Montana Cree: A Study in Religious Persistence* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), p. 271. In chapter six I will examine the extent of Evans's linguistic investigation and highlight how the workbook shows Evans's deep interest in and understanding of language.

from, the later Cree syllabic alphabet.[11] This similarity leaves us with questions: was Evans's work merely evolving, or had he simply applied characters back onto the Ojibwa from a simplified Cree-based syllabary to which he had had some exposure, but about which he never reported? If Evans made contact with Aboriginal writing systems, where did this contact occur and what was the nature of this contact? These are questions we may never answer.

This thesis will examine a period in Evans's life after the development of the Ojibwa syllabary and before the development of the Cree syllabary. It features a period in Evans's life when he was contemplating the large subject of language and its common connections. As Evans explored and researched the linguistic and cultural patterns in a disparate world he found what scientific thought and the theory of monogenesis impelled him to find: universals. A close textual analysis of this document reveals much about James Evans, the evangelical mission, and its desire to study Indigenous languages.

[11] Two points of note would be the characters ᑎ and ρ, which appear in both syllabaries, but are assigned different syllabic sounds in each.

Chapter One – James Evans in Life and Literature

An imbalance is revealed when one compares James Evans's life to the published accounts of it. The early years of his career as a missionary, when Evans was formulating the syllabic characters and studying the universals of language, are bypassed as historians focus on his apparent invention of Cree syllabics in 1840; the result is that the invention overshadows the process of syllabic formulation. Other historical accounts largely ignore Evans's linguistic studies as they seek out the calamities that befell him in the last two years of his life. By examining the literature about Evans in a biographical light we can see how inadequate that literature has been at representing Evans as a whole person.

Evans's Early Life

James Evans was born into a Wesleyan Methodist home in the port town of Kingston-upon-Hull, England on 18 January 1801. Evans's father James was a sea captain working on the troopship *Triton* during a period of British naval supremacy. The young Evans was drawn to follow his father into a naval career, but the elder James was insistent that his son receive a proper education, and so he sent James to boarding school at Lincolnshire along with his younger brother Ephraim. The boys both flourished at boarding school, studying the arts and sciences and finding a keen interest in literature.[1] By his fifteenth birthday James was apprenticing with a grocer in Hull. This apprenticeship proved to be an important component of the young Evans's life, as his

[1] John S. Moir, "Egerton Ryerson, the *Christian Guardian,* and Upper Canadian Politics, 1829-1840," Neil Semple, ed., *Canadian Methodist Historical Society,* vol. 10 (1993), p. 23. Moir reports that Evans's interest in writing was evident at a young age as he had made several attempts at writing novels prior to his conversion.

employer, a pious man named Traine, insisted that his employee attend all of the lectures and prayer meetings made available to him.[2] It was during this period that Evans underwent his conversion, while attending a camp meeting led by the Irish evangelist Gideon Ouseley.[3] In the months that followed, Evans began preaching and leading local prayer meetings. Religious instruction was not the only advantage afforded him while under Traine's tutelage; the grocer also taught him shorthand, a skill that would prove to be invaluable in his future endeavours in creating syllabic characters.[4]

In the summer of 1821, when his parents immigrated to Canada, Evans was working for a glass and crockery firm in London and so remained behind until the following year. He arrived in L'Orignal, Upper Canada in the summer of 1822 and accepted a teaching position with the local school. At a revival meeting the next spring Evans met Mary Blithe Smith and they were married later that year. In late 1828 Evans came under the tutelage of Rev. William Case, who encouraged him to become a missionary teacher.[5] Evans's first assignment was at an Indian reserve at Rice Lake, north of the town of Cobourg, east of present-day Toronto. The Ojibwa at Rice Lake were Evans's first test in "his ability as a teacher and... in the study of languages."[6] By the time that Evans was called as a probationary minister in 1830, he had already

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[2] Egerton Ryerson Young, *The Apostle of the North, Rev. James Evans* (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1899), pp. 10-11.

[3] John MacLean, *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto: Missionary Society of Methodist Church, 1918), p. 28.

[4] Gerald Hutchinson, "James Evans" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. VII, 1836 to 1850,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 276; Nathaniel Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of Written Language," *Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions,* Series 3, vol. 5 (1911), p. 6.

[5] MacLean, *Vanguards of Canada,* p. 31. MacLean highlights that William Case recruited and trained many of the key Methodist missionaries to work in Canada in the nineteenth century, including contemporaries of Evans like the Aboriginal missionaries John Sunday and Henry Steinhauer, as well as Aboriginal translator and linguist Peter Jones, and western missionary George McDougall.

[6] Ibid., p. 32.

translated eighteen chapters of Genesis and twenty psalms, and had prepared a preliminary vocabulary of Ojibwa.

Pre-1840 Missionary Work

Evans was ordained into the Wesleyan Methodist Church at London, Upper Canada, in 1833 and took up a missionary posting with the Canada Conference at St. Clair Mission near Sarnia.[7] His work on language escalated in his new posting, with a number of important milestones. Within three years, having worked with a number of local Ojibwa, he and fellow missionary and linguist Thomas Hurlburt had developed an Ojibwa syllabic alphabet (see appendix 2).[8] Evans's Ojibwa syllabary consisted of ten consonants and four vowels. In 1836 he submitted this syllabary to the Conference in the hopes that it would be recognized as the official method of instruction. Although the script followed the Methodist belief that scripture should be rendered in the vernacular, many at Conference felt that Evans's syllabary was simply too complicated, and, thus, that Roman orthography should continue to be used in language instruction. Evans was undaunted, publishing a few short works in syllabics that same year, including a prayer and a hymnal.[9] He also directly challenged the Canada Conference with the publication of the *Speller and Interpreter* in 1837. This book aimed to "aid the missionary and others in obtaining a knowledge of this extensively spoken language, and to place in the hands of

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[7] J. E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada, vol. 1, 1775-1839* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), p. 310.

[8] Hutchinson, *DCB*, p. 276. The involvement of Hurlburt is also discussed in Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers, The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 163-64 and 184-85.

[9] James Evans, *NU-gu-mo-nun O-je-boa an-oad ge-ë-se-üu-ne-gu-noo-du-be-üng uoo Muun-gou-duuz [George Henry] gu-ea Moo-ge-gee-seg [James Evans] ge-ge-noo-ü-muu-ga-oe-ne-ne-oug* (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1837).

the Indians an assistant to correct orthography."[10] The purpose for such an endeavour was "to Christianize, and thereby to civilize, the Aborigines of this country."[11] However, Evans also revealed a deeper motive in its publication. In the preface he argued that "[a]ll who have attempted to represent the Indian dialects by written characters, have proved the impracticability of accomplishing this object by the use of the Roman character," and therefore he revealed the need for a syllabic system to be adopted.[12] Evans firmly believed that Aboriginal people needed their own script for their own language; "a complete system, in which each sound is rendered invariable, by a distinct and appropriate character."[13] Evans was undaunted by the rejection of syllabics by the Canada Conference and seems to have continued on with his study with a renewed vigour in the hopes of one day convincing them to turn away from Roman orthography and towards syllabics.

After spending five years as the missionary and teacher at Rice Lake, in the fall of 1838 Evans was selected by William Case to investigate the possibility of extending the Methodist mission to the west, along the shores of Lake Superior. Evans and Thomas Hurlburt set out for Lake Superior that spring, and by mid-summer they had travelled as far west as Fort Michipicoten, on Lake Superior at the mouth of the Michipicoten River, down river from present day Wawa, Ontario. In the late fall Hurlburt continued on to Fort William where Evans was to meet him after travelling the north shore ministering to new

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[10] James Evans, *The Speller and Interpreter, in Indian and English, for the use of The Mission Schools, and such as may desire to obtain a knowledge of the Ojibway Tongue* (New York: D. Fanshaw Printer, 1837), p. 3.

[11] Ibid., p. 3.

[12] Ibid., p. 4.

[13] Ibid., p. 4.

groups and seeking a location for the new mission. Evans was certain that there was no reason to remain in Fort Michipicoten for the winter, as it was a small post and there were few Ojibwa nearby to minister to. He determined to go to Sault Ste. Marie, but Mother Nature had a different plan. Evans departed Fort Michipicoten at the end of October, but was caught in a series of bad storms on the lake, which forced him to turn back and nearly cost him his life.[14] His journal entry for the final day of this botched journey speaks volumes:

> Sun 18 It is a duty to proceed... although the Sabbath… must go on to preserve life. We have not a days provisions. The snow abated & the wind fell a little... but this only lured to deceive… The Indian boy cried out," O alas! The wind is coming! Too much! All is over now!"…Looking back I saw the lake at a little distance foaming on every wave and the blackened surface contrasted with the white surge truly looked frightening. For a moment I felt my knees tremble, but instantly looked up to God and felt my mind calm ...the boy in the centre kept bailing & the other poor fellow laid his face in his hands, as he has since told us, that he might not see himself drowned. Through the most miraculous mercy of God we got under the lee of the point… we jumped into the surf when near the shore and ran up our canoe high and dry… I determined now to attempt to sail no more … carried our canoe into the woods... we started on foot ((about 14 miles)) in two feet of snow, no snowshoes, very wet, hard travelling, climbing and descending the mountainous shores ...came to a chain of small lakes …with the handle of the tomahawk knocking off the ice which had accumulated on our feet and ankles. This day I ate nothing from an hour before day until I sat down in the evening at the hospitable board of my kind friend, Mr. Cameron.[15]

This disastrous journey seems to have changed Evans's attitude toward Fort Michipicoten, for upon his return he settled in to what he described as the "hospitable board" of post life.

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[14] There is a dramatic account of this failed voyage in Evans's journal: James Evans, Journal, 11 July 1838 to 17 November 1838, University of Western Ontario, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, Box 4734, file 258a. See also James Evans, "The Diary of James Evans September 4 – November 20, 1838, Part Two." *Northward Journal: A Quarterly of Northern Arts,* vol. 34 (1985): pp. 4-20.

[15] James Evans, Journal, 18 November 1838, University of Western Ontario, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, Box 4734, file 258b.

This near-death experience on Lake Superior demonstrates a number of aspects of Evans's character. Evans was described by a contemporary as "a man of considerable educational attainments, a practical teacher, and very cheerful, versatile, and enterprising… a man who made a sport of hardship and privation."[16] This description corresponds well with the image of Evans's character that emerges from his own accounts. During the course of this failed trip Evans was resourceful in the face of hardship, seeming even to enjoy the challenge of surviving the harsh weather. In the end, he found the good in what was a bad situation emphasizing the direction that God had given him on the trip. This sojourn, though failed, demonstrates that Evans could meet the challenge of the frontier mission and that he was, in many ways, cut out for the hardship that life entailed. Evans was ambitious, determined to be the man to find the syllabic breakthrough that would most effectively spread the gospel among the Native population. He exhibited a great perseverance in his desire to see a syllabic script to fruition, stubbornly continuing on with this work, even after the Missionary Society discouraged and opposed his early syllabic endeavours. Evans was cheerful and versatile once he found himself sequestered at Fort Michipicoten. He assisted in the provisioning of the post, both hunting and cutting wood, and made quick companions of the officers at the post. In this seven-month stay at the post Evans was far from idle and, in fact, was quite enterprising. He spent a great deal of time in the library of HBC Chief Factor Dugald Cameron (c. 1777-1857) and began work on a comparative manuscript of the language and culture of the Ojibwa. During the course of that winter Evans would also

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[16] John Carroll, *Case and his Contemporaries* (Toronto: Wesleyan Conference, 1871), p. 220.

demonstrate his keen thirst for knowledge, pouring through Cameron's library, and probing for information on Aboriginal peoples from his companions.[17]

The first historical studies of Evans's life were undertaken by men who were nearly his contemporaries, and certainly were closely connected with the Methodist church and their missionary program. The two key authors in this period were John MacLean (1851-1928) and Egerton Ryerson Young (1840-1909). Both men had served as missionaries for the Methodists in western Canada at the time they published their accounts of Evans's life.[18] Evans is portrayed in a heroic fashion in these works. Eric Cheyfitz has explored how nineteenth-century authors often made "the part of the translator" the hero as they had taken up the important role of "explain[ing] the savage man to the civilized and the civilized man to the savage."[19] While these accounts, by today's standards, are glorifications of the colonial project they are not uniformly derogatory of Indigenous people and their culture. While Young reduces Aboriginal people to "wild pagan[s]"[20] MacLean is to a certain degree respectful of Indigenous populations. However, MacLean's portrayals focus on Aboriginal people's post-conversion rather than how they had lived before missionary contact.[21] MacLean is keen

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[17] The matter of the contents of this library and the personnel of Fort Michipicoten will be discussed in chapter 4.

[18] Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries' Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John Maclean and Egerton Ryerson Young," *Prairie Forum,* vol. 9, no. 1 (1984), pp. 30-31.

[19] Eric Cheyfitz, "Literally White, Figuratively Red: The Frontier of Translation in *The Pioneers,*" Robert Clark ed., *James Fenimore Cooper: New Critical Essays* (London and New York: Barnes and Noble, 1985), p. 58.

[20] Young, *Apostle of the North,* p. 69.

[21] There is some evidence that MacLean's interests were not that different from Evans's: "MacLean, who not only respected the Indians with whom he worked but became an authority of some repute on Indian languages and customs, was judged by Methodist officials to be an ineffective missionary and eventually

to follow the work of Evans more methodically, while Young jumps from dramatized event to event. This difference in approach can be seen in their portrayal of Evans's contemporary, Peter Jones. Jones was an Ojibwa who had converted and become a missionary, and, like Evans, worked extensively on translation. Ryerson reduces Jones to "a happy Indian convert"[22] while MacLean sees Jones more accurately as a "good linguist" whose "success… had been witnessed in many Indian camps."[23] The impressions that each of these authors had about Indigenous people naturally shaped their views on missions and ultimately their views on Evans.

These earliest sources must be considered as part of the world in which they were created. Young and MacLean were both evangelical missionaries themselves, having both served tenures in the west in the late nineteenth century.[24] The experiences in the west coloured their writing on Evans, as they sought to portray him as they had acted and as they believed a missionary should act. In any study of nineteenth-century missionaries it is important to understand the difference between what the missionaries were actually doing and what they believed they were doing, thus, distinguishing "between the motive of mission and the consequences."[25] The result of their mission project may have been disastrous for Aboriginal people, but it was undertaken for what the missionaries at that time believed was an important and beneficial, indeed, vital purpose. The cultural

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asked to move to another field of labour." John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime, Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 162.

[22] Young, *Apostle of the North,* p. 25.

[23] MacLean, *Life of James Evans,* pp. 119-120.

[24] Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries' Indian," pp. 30-31.

[25] Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (New York: Orbis Books, 1989), p. 53.

understandings of the twenty-first century cannot be read back onto these men of the nineteenth, as historian Sarah Carter has written: "missionaries cannot be expected to have stepped beyond the intellectual and ideological range of their society" just as we should not be asked to do so today.[26] This being said, both MacLean and Young raise Evans up to the status of a 'Great Man'. Young's depiction compares Evans to great men such as "Augustine… Luther, Knox, [and] Wesley" who fulfilled the providential role; that is, "when God wants a man for a peculiar work He knows where to find him."[27] MacLean is slightly more balanced in his approach to Evans, although he hails him as one of the "Vanguards of Canada," and proclaims him a "missionary genius."[28]

Although some works examine the issue of Evans's early interest in language they still overlook his winter at Fort Michipicoten. Nathaniel Burwash's short essay on Evans places greater emphasis on the creation of syllabics in the 1830s, but cleanly skips over Evans's adventures on Lake Superior.[29] Burwash offers an important study of the linguistic innovations of syllabics, providing a more complete analysis of the modifications that occurred between the Ojibwa and Cree syllabaries. *Birch Bark Talking,* a short pamphlet produced by the United Church in the 1940s, places a strong emphasis on Evans's work on language in the years leading up to his arrival at Norway House, but it focuses strictly on the published work in the *Speller and Interpreter;* therefore, it misses both his winter at Fort Michipicoten and any developments that were

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[26] Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries' Indian," p. 43.

[27] Young, *The Apostle of the North,* p. 9.

[28] John MacLean, *The Life of James Evans* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1890), p. 13; see also MacLean, *Vanguards of Canada,* p. 32.

[29] Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of Written Language," p. 8.

made at Rice Lake.[30] A most intriguing omission can be found in Nan Shipley's *The James Evans Story.* In writing her novel-like biography, Shipley includes only one paragraph that even acknowledges that Evans worked on language while at the post that winter, and the greatest portion of this paragraph is a loosely transcribed passage from a letter Evans wrote to his wife Mary.[31] A Master's thesis by John Cameron Reid also all but overlooks the importance of Evans's time at Fort Michipicoten, with just two paragraphs concerning it, and the simple comment that it was "a commencement of what were to be long tours among the native people, which would never let up until the time of his death."[32]

The works of MacLean and Young most comprehensively focus on the time that Evans spent on Lake Superior; each devotes an entire chapter to it. However, in Young's book there is no mention of Evans at Fort Michipicoten specifically, nor any mention of work he may have accomplished there.[33] MacLean has a much better view of the importance and achievement of Fort Michipicoten, stating "it is interesting to trace the record of his work, and the strivings of his spirit in his missionary toil."[34] MacLean emphasizes the importance of this trip and the winter spent at Fort Michipicoten, drawing heavily on the correspondence that Evans sent back to Upper Canada and highlighting how firmly established the Ojibwa syllabary already was. Although his account is at

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[30] *Birch Bark Talking, A Resume of the Life and Work of the Rev. James Evans* (Toronto: The Board of Home Missions, 1940), pp. 11-13.

[31] Nan Shipley, *The James Evans Story* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), p. 22.

[32] John Cameron Reid, "James Evans, Missionary (1801 – 1846)" (Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg Master of Theology thesis, 1970), p. 11.

[33] Young, *The Apostle of the North,* chapter 5.

[34] MacLean, *The Life of James Evans,* p. 131.

times highly dramatic, MacLean correctly identifies this time in Evans's life as an important moment, preparing him for the work that was yet to come.

One other author does focus extensively on the time Evans spent on Lake Superior in the winter of 1838-39; however, this work is highly inadequate in describing what Evans did while at the post. The main focus of this article is the lake, a natural focus considering that its author, Fred Landon, was a nautical historian of the Great Lakes. Landon offers only two paragraphs about what Evans did while at Fort Michipicoten. This account does not include any mention of Evans working on language or of his studies in Cameron's library.[35]

What is important to understand in examining these early days of Evans's life and career is that little has been written on the subject, and no one has ever strictly analysed these early years of his life. The focus has been placed on Evans's work once he was appointed as Superintendent of the western missions in 1840; thus, the majority of the works tend to gloss over the first forty years of his life. Little is said about the early development of syllabics or of his study of languages. The result is that it often appears that Evans miraculously constructed the Cree syllabary in only a few short weeks following his arrival at Norway House.[36]

Post-1840 Western Mission

Evans had a chance encounter with HBC inland governor George Simpson the day before he departed Fort Michipicoten. The two men discussed the potential of establishing a

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[35] Fred Landon, "By Canoe to Lake Superior in 1838," *Inland Seas*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1973), p. 45. Landon was a professor at the University of Western Ontario where the Evans records are housed; he published two pamphlets of Evans's writing in the 1930s, focussing on water travel.

[36] The time frame is rather astounding if one considers that Evans arrived at Norway House only on 5 September 1840, and printed the first material in Cree Syllabic on 16 October 1840.

missionary presence in the west and the possibility of Evans's involvement in such a project. That same fall Simpson struck a deal with Reverend Robert Alder of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to bring missionaries into Rupert's Land.[37] Simpson had insisted that the WMMS bring only three men, but concerns in London soon prompted the addition of a fourth man as superintendent. Alder called on Evans, who had been temporarily stationed at Guelph, Ontario, to fill that role, and by the spring of 1840 he was on his way to Norway House to establish the first sanctioned missions in the Northwest.

It is important to note that this first mission was sponsored by British Methodists, and consisted of missionaries from the British Wesleyan tradition even though the superintendent, James Evans, had resided for many years in Upper Canada. This British flavour was largely due to a political shift that was occurring simultaneously. Canadian Methodism had been established out of the American Methodist movement in the eighteenth century and had functioned as part of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S. until 1828.[38] For five years the Canadians operated independently as the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada until in 1833 they united with the British connexion. This union lasted until 1840 when the two again split, around the same time that Evans left for Rupert's Land.[39] The British had negotiated the western mission directly with the HBC,

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[37] The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed during the Napoleonic Wars as Wesleyan Methodists began to shift their evangelization from the domestic front toward the rest of the globe. It was brought into being at the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1814 to focus their missionary endeavours in India, but soon expanded to all parts of the British Empire. See G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, vol. 1* (London: Epworth Press, 1921), pp. 69-77.

[38] Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), p. 75.

[39] Gerald Hutchinson, "Introducing the Reverend William Mason," Neil Semple, ed., *Canadian Methodist Historical Society,* vol. 10 (1993), p. 88.

and had thus by-passed the Canadian Methodists. Although there was no active confrontation, the sentiment seems to have been pervasive that the British had shut out the Canadians' nationalist hopes for the western missions. Nonetheless, the agreement was sealed in Britain between two entities that were firmly British: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company. Evans, who had remained firmly British in his attitude and his mission throughout his twenty years' residence in Upper Canada, was appointed superintendent. Throughout those years he had little regard for the American style of Methodism prevalent in Upper Canada and at times was overtly negative towards it. This hostility was often directed towards the *Christian Guardian*, a Canadian Methodist publication that Evans criticized in letters to his brother Ephraim:

> it is a vulgar, backbiting, misrepresenting & slanderous publication. The rule – speak no evil of thy neighbors – is violated with every weeks' issue. Persons are mentioned by name. See … the scandalous extract … about Lord Melbourne's dalliance … in a lady's chamber to the lascivious pleasing of a lute, and all this dallying and lasciviousness is in no other Lady's Chamber than her Majesty Queen Victoria – but I am disgusted. I hate the very looks of the paper & it makes my heart sick to peruse it. I am lost in astonishment how it is upheld.[40]

In the last sentence of this passage Evans is questioning not just the morality of the paper but those who supported it. There is further evidence of Evans's willingness to act against his adopted countrymen. In the summer of 1836 he represented a number of Southern Ontario Ojibwa in appealing to the Crown to prevent their lands from being annexed and sold, thus slowing the expansion of Canadian settlement.[41] Such an act

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[40] Evans letter to Ephraim Evans, 9 Feb. 1839, University of Western Ontario, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, Box 4734, file 255, letter 73.

[41] Lisa Philips Valentine, "Changing Perspectives: Visions from James Evans' Diaries," David H. Pentland, ed. *Papers of the Twenty-ninth Algonquian Conference* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1998), p. 362.

would have placed Evans in opposition to the majority of Upper Canadians who actively advocated western expansion at the expense of Indigenous peoples.[42]

The vast majority of scholarship about James Evans, focussed as it is on the period after 1840, when he was appointed Superintendent of Missions in Rupert's Land, exhibits three general characteristics: great man history, scandal history, and language development and printing history. Greater attention has been paid to this period of Evans's life for two reasons: it marks an important point in western Canadian history, when the missionaries were finally permitted into the country, and it is more dramatic, filled with what many have perceived as big achievements and even bigger scandals.

"[A] saint and a scholar"[43]: the Great Man

The initial literature that appeared on James Evans arose in the later part of the nineteenth century, often written by Methodist churchmen looking to reclaim the honour of Evans. Veneration colours much of this work, as these men were interested in telling the story of Evans with a heroic twist, but it remains a useful tool to the historian looking for a sense of how Evans was reinvented in the late nineteenth century. We can even see this reinvention in the 1906 painting by J. W. L. Forster.[44] The image is of Evans, sitting robustly, with a square jaw and a gleam in his eye, and all the trappings of his life's work behind him, including the syllabic characters and a printing press. Nowhere in this portrait does one see a Bible or any sign of religiosity. This portrait is just part of a larger

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[42] Douglas Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 23; see also Mark Francis, "The 'Civilizing' of Indigenous People in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Journal of World History,* vol. 9, no. 1 (1998), p. 58.

[43] MacLean, *Vanguards of Canada,* p. 45.

[44] See appendix 3.

reinvention, as the Methodists had to paint Evans almost entirely as a man of science, a man who was distanced from his past, and therefore from the church. He could be portrayed as an academic, a man of science, a man of great achievements, but he could not be portrayed as a man of God. Wanting ownership of his accomplishments but not necessarily of him, the Methodists needed to emphasize his invention and downplay his indiscretions. A similar view can be seen in the early writings of MacLean and Young, as Evans takes on mythic proportions, not specifically as a missionary, but as an inventor and scientist.

The Linguist and Printer

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission to HBC territory was approved by the company in the winter of 1840, and James Evans was appointed superintendent in April of that year. The original agreement between the mission society and the HBC had been for three missionaries to enter the country, but with the addition of Evans that number had grown to at least eight.[45] This would not be the last time that Evans annoyed the HBC by putting them to added expense; in later years the company complained bitterly about the cost of freighting goods for the missionary. Within a few short weeks of arriving at Norway House Evans began printing in syllabics. Evans's first printing was done on a hand-made press, with hand-crafted lead type. The system must have worked for, within the first year, he printed seven major items, including a hymnal, and the Lord's Prayer.[46]

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[45] Gerald Hutchinson, "James Evans," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. VII, 1836 to 1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 276. Evans had brought west with him his wife Mary and daughter Clarissa as well as Native assistants Henry Bird Steinhauer and Peter Jacobs and his family.

[46] Bruce Peel, *The Rossville Mission Press, The invention of the Cree syllabic characters and the first printing in Rupert's Land* (Montreal: Osiris, 1974), p. 32.

But soon Evans was once again making demands on the HBC and the Missionary Society requesting that a printing press be delivered to Rossville. But the HBC was in no hurry to deliver Evans a printing press; it did not arrive until 1845, a few months before he departed the west. Even without a proper printing press, printing continued throughout his tenure in the west, interrupted only by the need to repair the home-made press that he had fashioned from an old fur bale press.[47] Evans was often drawn to the extremities of Rupert's Land in his capacity as superintendent, and soon the printing became the full-time employ of Rev. William Mason (1811-1891). Mason had joined Evans at Rossville in 1842 and he, with the assistance of his wife, directed the majority of the printing undertaken there.[48]

Much of the historiography on Evans focuses on printing and linguistic history after his arrival at Norway House in 1840. A number of bibliographers have done extensive work on Evans as a printer in the west. The most prominent of these is Bruce Peel who wrote a number of articles and a short book on the subject.[49] Peel was prone to simplification, seeing "Evans' invention of the Cree syllabic characters [as] an act of genius."[50] Thus, Peel's work is more about what Evans printed and how he printed it and less about how Evans developed the characters he was printing with. Joyce Banks has also explored Evans's role in establishing printing, although her focus is largely on the

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[47] MacLean, *Life of James Evans,* pp. 166-67.

[48] Much of the translation work on the first Cree Bible was done by Sophia Mason, the half Cree wife William Mason.

[49] Peel, *The Rossville Mission Press*; Bruce Peel, "Rossville Mission Press: Press, Prints and Translators," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1962); Bruce Peel, "Frustrations of the Missionary-Printer of Rossville: Reverend William Mason," *The Bulletin, Number 18,* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1965).

[50] Peel, "Rossville Mission Press," p. 28.

work of William Mason in the years after Evans had left the west.[51] Banks, like Peel, fails to fully explore how Evans came to his syllabary, but rather focuses on its use once it was formulated. John Stewart Murdoch examined the educational impacts of syllabics in his thesis "Syllabics: a successful educational innovation;" however, as this work is not a historical study, it focuses chiefly on the application of what Evans created and not on the process of its creation.[52]

In his recent work, *Travels in Shining Island*, Roger Mason has re-written much of the great man history on Evans with an eye to his printing endeavours. The flaws of this work are many, from the inaccuracy of dates offered to the lack of historiography. On several occasions Mason simply gets facts of Evans's life wrong. In one paragraph he writes "Evans was born in 1800 into a Methodist family in the port city of Hull… but emigrated to Canada in 1820."[53] Two errors occur in this one sentence: Evans was born in 1801, and he and his family arrived in Canada in 1821.[54] This sort of inaccuracy damages Mason's credibility in reporting. The second considerable problem with the work is his lack of interest in or understanding of Aboriginal beliefs. As has been pointed out in many of the earlier works, the sense of what Winona Stevenson has called

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[51] Joyce Banks, "The Church Missionary Society and the Rossville Mission Press," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada,* vol. 32, no. 1 (1994); Joyce Banks, "The Church Missionary Society Press at Moose Factory: 1853-1859," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society,* vol. 26, no. 2 (1984).

[52] John Stewart Murdoch, "Syllabics: a successful educational innovation," M. Ed., University of Manitoba, 1981.

[53] Roger Buford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans and the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1996), p. xiv.

[54] John MacLean is the only source which disputes this arrival date of 1821, stating that Evans, in fact, remained behind in England until 1823 working in a glass and crockery business. See John MacLean *James Evans: Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language,* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1890), p. 17; John MacLean, *Vanguards of Canada,* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1918), p. 29.

"the colonialist/conqueror rendition" of history needs to be balanced with an Aboriginal perspective of the development of syllabics.[55] Mason, writing within the last decade, fails to mention any impact or influence that Aboriginal people may have had on the process of creating syllabics.

Two works deal succinctly with Evans's interest in and interactions with Aboriginal cultures. Jennifer Brown examined Evans's role in the development of hybrid Indigenous religious movements in the Northwest. Brown necessarily focuses on Evans's influence in Cree territory after 1840, and the impact that Methodist conversion had on specific communities. As a result there is little relevant information revealed about Evans, and even less focus on the issue of language study and syllabics. In a more recent article Lisa Philips Valentine examines Evans as a traveller using his own writing, particularly the journals, that he kept between 1838 and 1841. Although Valentine deals with the period of Evans's winter at Michipicoten she provides only curt analysis of his time at the post and fails to deal with his interest in language. Valentine makes casual mention of Evans's workbook, as it emerged in the journals, stating that "he was apparently working on a history of Indian customs and language,"[56] but she fails to seek out the workbook and examine its contents. Thus, Valentine's work, although valuable for its analysis of Evans's journals, fails to see the importance of the language study that Evans undertook and the important activity he participated in during his winter at Michipicoten.

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[55] Winona Stevenson, "Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Language: The Cree Origins of the Syllabic System," *Oral History Forum* vol. 19-20 (1999-2000), p. 20.

[56] Valentine, "Changing Perspectives," p. 354.

Although some study of the development of syllabics has occurred, it dwells on Evans's implementation of the system in the post-1840 period. The time Evans was on Lake Superior is generally not considered in most of these accounts, and thus is seen as a lost winter when he was simply stranded and isolated, and there was little for him to do. No studies have focussed specifically on Evans's investigation into language while he was at Fort Michipicoten.

Scandal History – Judgement of a Great Man?

Evans's great triumphs in printing were tempered by a number of problems in his western mission. Many stemmed from a feud that was brewing with the HBC. The company had never officially observed the Sabbath; this practice constituted a sin in terms of evangelical ideas of keeping all ten commandments. Within a matter of a few months of his arrival Evans was directly challenging Simpson over the issue of Sunday travel; the challenge precluded any chance at a positive relationship. Simpson tersely advised Norway House Chief Factor Donald Ross to make it abundantly clear to Evans that such disruptions in the trade would not be tolerated.[57] But Simpson's appeal fell on deaf ears, and Evans continued to encourage the men to not work on Sunday. Some historians have seen this dispute as a central element in much of the future problems Evans faced. As we will see, within a short time, Evans accidentally killed a travelling companion, and stood accused of molesting young Aboriginal girls at Rossville. Gerald Hutchinson has written of Simpson's involvement in the downfall of Evans and concluded that "Simpson believed the charges against Evans… he wanted to believe them, for, properly handled,

[57] George Simpson to Donald Ross, 2 December 1840, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Donald Ross private and official HBC papers 1816 – 1877, AE R73 La5.

they would prevent Evans from returning to the Territory...."[58] Frits Pannekoek explores these tensions between Evans and the HBC, calling Evans's pressures on Simpson "anti-company agitation."[59] Pannekoek argued that the HBC and Methodists' mission goals were not in conflict, but that a number of "petty animosities engendered by the proximity of the mission to the fur post, and by the social pretensions of the missionary and his wife" caused the relationship to splinter.[60] Pannekoek's examination relies heavily on the letters of Letitia Hargrave as evidence, and as a result much of the discord he sees could be understood as Mrs. Hargrave's views rather than a reflection of fur trade relations generally. What is evident from looking at these sources is that writing about Evans has focussed disproportionately on the discord at Norway House and Evans's downfall including the shooting of Thomas Hassal in 1844, and the sex scandal that erupted in Rossville in 1846.

Fearing a Roman Catholic expansion into the north, Evans hastily set out from Norway House for Fort Chipewyan in the summer of 1844. Along the way he accidentally shot Thomas Hassal (c.1811-1844) while trying to pass him a rifle. Hassal had been Evans's guide and Chipewyan interpreter for a number of years. Hassal had eventually become a Methodist lay preacher, and he and Evans had grown to be close

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[58] Gerald Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society,* vol. 19, no. 1 (1977), p. 54.

[59] Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," Richard Allen, ed., *Canadian Plains Studies 3: Religion and Society in the Prairie West,* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1974), pp.1-18.

[60] Frits Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846," Richard Allen, ed., *Canadian Plains Studies 3: Religion and Society in the Prairie West* (1974), p. 2.

friends on the long journeys they made west.[61] Following the shooting Evans quickly returned to Norway House, where he soon faced rumours circulating about his inappropriate activities with a number of young Aboriginal women in the community. By February 1846, a number of women from his congregation came forward and accused him of sexual impropriety. Evans encouraged an open trial on these charges, with his underling William Mason acting as judge. Raymond Shirritt-Beaumont has ably examined the events of this trial in a recent MA thesis.[62] Shirritt-Beaumont examines how even after Evans was accused and left the community the local Cree remained strongly Methodist in belief. A number of other sources have focussed the majority of their attention on the scandal; Gerald Hutchinson, for example, although he has a keen interest in syllabics and Evans's role in language development, examines only the final stages of Evans's career in the west. Hutchinson describes the final year of Evans's life as a "year of dying," when the once admired man was degenerated and broken.[63] In his entry on Evans in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Hutchinson skips over the winter at Michipicoten.[64] This is largely due to the fact that this entry was written before Hutchinson himself had discovered the importance of that winter and the workbook that was born from it. Evans was recalled to England in the summer of 1846, and not long after his arrival he died.

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[61] Gerald Hutchinson, "Thomas Hassal," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. VII, 1836 to 1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 390.

[62] Raymond Shirritt-Beaumont, "The Rossville Scandal, 1846: James Evans, the Cree, and a Mission on Trial" (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2001).

[63] Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," p. 56.

[64] Gerald Hutchinson, "James Evans," *DCB*, p. 276.

Conclusions About Historiography

If we look to the sources about Evans, we see that the majority spend little more than a few lines on his background and life before the western mission began in 1840. Even the biographical works, those that should be all encompassing, fall flat in this endeavour, the majority spending only a few pages covering the early life of Evans while researching for what is seen as a more productive and dramatic period in his life, which occurred after he arrived in the Northwest. What this all means is that an important decade, the 1830s, is largely bypassed as nothing more than Evans's 'formative years.' This interpretation could not be more inaccurate as much of what shaped James Evans's work was formulated before 1840. By the time Evans arrived at Norway House he was thirty-nine years old, had published a book on Indigenous language, and had spent the better part of a decade living with Aboriginal people and studying their languages. It was while he was at Rice Lake and Lake St. Clair that he was first exposed to the Ojibwa language and began working to translate documents. It was in 1836-37 that he began pressuring the Methodist conference to put more energy into translation, resulting in the publication of his *Speller and Interpreter.* It was in the winter of 1838-39 while he was at Fort Michipicoten that he was able to crystallize his ideas about language and Indigenous peoples' culture. The lack of scholarship on Evans's life before 1840 exists despite the fact that there are a number of exceptional primary resources available relating to his life in that period. If we look just to his travels on Lake Superior in 1838-39, we can readily see that Evans left an extensive record, including a journal, which has even been published,[65] a substantial amount of correspondence, and the workbook that he completed

[65] James Evans, "The Diary of James Evans July 11 – August 30, 1838, Part One," *Northward Journal: A Quarterly of Northern Arts,* vol. 33 (1984), pp. 4-26; James Evans, "The Diary of James Evans

while at Fort Michipicoten. This gap in the scholarship is therefore not due to a lack of resources, but rather to scholars' fixation on the more dramatic elements of the man's life. In glossing over this important period in Evans's life, previous scholarship has lost important perspective and understanding of Evans and syllabics. The year 1840 marked the culmination of a long process of investigation and negotiation with Aboriginal people and their languages. There is a serious need for scholars to re-focus their attention on this earlier period and what may have influenced and shaped Evans's work on syllabics. Further investigation of his tenure as superintendent will provide little new insight into the man and the impact that he had. By contrast, an examination of his life prior to that posting offers fertile ground for new discoveries.

September 4 – November 20, 1838, Part Two," *Northward Journal: A Quarterly of Northern Arts,* vol. 34 (1985), pp. 4-20.

Chapter Two - Evangelical Missionaries and Empire

Most historians of the Canadian West fail to see their studies within the wider framework of the British Empire. In particular, fur trade historians have tended to focus on the economic or social considerations of the trade without framing this within an imperial context.[1] Not seeing the fur trade world as being impacted by the British Empire is a mistake that is slowly beginning to be corrected.[2] In an important examination of gender in mid-nineteenth century British Columbia, Adele Perry has begun to tackle the tensions that existed between the centre, London, and periphery, the Canadian west.[3] She takes an important step, since the London Committee of the HBC were after all in London, and they likely kept track of all parts of the empire, not just that which was controlled by their company. As well, the men who worked for the company in Rupert's Land, particularly the officers, were always impacted by outside forces, for example, enlightenment and scientific thought, and evangelical religion.[4] Although the HBC operated completely independently of the British Crown, it was dependent on the Crown for the renewal of its charter every twenty years, and often this event led to changes being made in the way the

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[1] Some good examples are: Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); E. E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

[2] For a comprehensive historiographical examination of missionaries in the British Empire see Norman Etherington, "Missions and Empire," Robin Winks, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume V, Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 303-314.

[3] Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 7.

[4] This can be evidenced in the case of John Dugald Cameron, chief trader at Fort Michipicoten, who, despite being born in the country, was keenly interested in the changes going on in Britain in the early nineteenth century: he owned a vast library full of scientific journals and was a Church of England evangelical with a son who was an evangelical Baptist preacher. For a full discussion of Cameron see chapter three.

company governed its country. This pressure from the outside imperial world was certainly a factor in the HBC's decision in 1840 to allow missionaries into the territory.[5] Missionaries were a key component of the 'colonial project' undertaken by the British in western Canada, and, thus, any discussion on missionaries in Rupert's Land requires an examination of some perspectives on empire and colonialism.

The Early Victorian Colonial Project

The term "cultural imperialism" is often used to overlook a vastly complex and protean phenomenon;[6] "colonizers and their communities are frequently treated as diverse but unproblematic, viewed as unified in a fashion that would disturb our ethnographic sensibilities if applied to ruling elites of the colonized."[7] Thus there is a need to not caricature colonialism by imposing monolithic features upon it that neither the colonized nor the colonizers would have seen.[8] Christian missions were a large component of the colonial project, often playing a vital role in adjusting the colonized populations to a new, they believed, 'civilized' state. The missionary thus became an important colonial agent, inhabiting the space of contact between the colonizer and the colonized. "Missionaries set

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[5] There had been unsanctioned Roman Catholic and Church of England missionaries at Red River for more than twenty years before the Company developed an official policy and sanctioned the Methodists in 1840.

[6] Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory,* vol. 41, no. 3 (2002), p. 301; Andrew Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* vol. 25, no. 3 (1997), p 367.

[7] Ann Laura Stoller, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 31 (1989), p. 136.

[8] For a good discussion of the idea of the complexities of colonial project see: Stoller, "Rethinking Colonial Categories;" Samson, "Ethnology and Theology;" Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*; and John and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination.*

out with the intention of radically transforming Indigenous societies, and knowingly or not, provided the religious and ideological rationale for the larger colonial enterprise."[9] The study of Christian missions is therefore an important component of any colonial study and must be considered in terms of all of the intentions that the missionaries carried into the mission field. For the majority of nineteenth-century Britons, empire was largely an economic concern, capturing new import and export markets, but it also played an important role for evangelical Christians who connected their beliefs with the larger goals of empire. The colonial mission in the mid-nineteenth century was thus largely made up of evangelicals with a keen interest in the conversion of non-Christians.[10]

Some historians have argued that missionary movements were a specific and natural product of the changing attitudes brought on by the growth of evangelical religion in the early nineteenth century.[11] Sentiments that evangelicals had accumulated by being involved in the anti-slavery movement certainly impacted their views of missions. The anti-slavery maxim, "am I not a man and a brother," permeated evangelical belief as they fought to end the slave trade.[12] This principle, universalism, was based in monogenist

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[9] Winona Stevenson, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," Jennifer Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press Ltd., 1996), p. 310.

[10] Much of the material on missionaries and language was compiled in writing a paper on evangelical missionaries' interest in Bible translation written in the Spring of 2003 for History 646, "Evangelical Britain," at the University of Alberta. See Paul Hengstler, "Missionaries and Linguists: Evangelical Investigations into Indigenous Language and Bible Translation in the Early Victorian Period," (unpublished paper, 2003). Used with permission from Dr. Jane Samson.

[11] Andrew Walls, "Evangelical Revival, The Missionary Movement, and Africa," Mark Noll, et al., ed., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 310.

[12] This idea is brought forward in a number of sources including: Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 109; Brian Stanley, "Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought, 1792-1857," in Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment,* (Cambridge & Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), p. 172; Kenelm Burridge, *In the Way: A Study of Christian Missionary Endeavours*

beliefs, beliefs that all men were descendants from a single source since "God had made of one blood all nations of men, and for the Evangelical each man represented in some part the Divine image."[13] With this view missionaries, as early anthropologists, sought to find in the empire "cultural evidence of humanity's descent from the family of Noah."[14] It became imperative that 'the Word' be re-administered to those people who had strayed from the flock. Missionary work on language focussed largely on Bible translation because, it was thought, the most efficient way to bring the 'savage' back to a state of civility was by reintroducing the Word of God to him: "that the gospel of salvation was the only remedy that could possibly uplift the heathen world."[15] With such a system of belief evangelical missionaries saw their work in the empire laid out before them; all they needed to do was pass on the Word.

Evangelical Missionaries and Spreading the Word

In the mission field there was a distinct notion of the importance and urgency of language, since if a man could be brought up to the level of reading and understanding the Bible he could be raised up to civility. To justify this cultural invasion, missionaries had to temper universalism with detailed particularism. In short, missionary depictions of Indigenous peoples and their activities needed to emphasize their distance from civility,

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(Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1991), p. 215; and Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa, British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850,* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p. 52.

[13] Jean Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia,* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1974), p. 12.

[14] Jane Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 109; Samson more fully develops this argument in a manuscript prepared for publication in 2004. Jane Samson, *Race and Empire* (Harlow and New York: Longman, forthcoming).

[15] David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 102.

and therefore their room for improvement. Historians Kenelm Burridge and Jane Samson have explored this tension between "particularism and universalism."[16] Samson argues that evangelical missionaries, with a strongly entrenched monogenist view of humanity, were at the same time intrigued and eager to report on the strange activities of the Indigenous people and eager to convert them. Samson argues that nineteenth-century missionaries navigated a complex relationship between "Ethnology and Theology" as they were faced with the dilemma of balancing "observations of behaviour and institutions that they found immoral, and often repugnant… [with the] vital [need] to build points of connection with these alien peoples if the gospel was to be preached."[17] For evangelicals, connections had to be found between Indigenous people and Europeans, since "if savages were quintessentially and irreducibly savage the project of converting them to Christianity and introducing civilization was both hopeless and worthless."[18] There needed to be room for 'improvement' if the mission was to have any lasting relevance. This improvement would be administered in two different ways: moral improvement to understand the word of God more clearly, and mental improvement to help Aboriginals better rationalize their surroundings.[19] Many missionaries believed that they could prove the universals of man and improve the state of Indigenous peoples through philology, the study of language.[20]

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[16] Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 109; Burridge, *In the Way*, p. 215.

[17] Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 102.

[18] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, p. 128.

[19] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), p. 62-63.

[20] Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 110.

Missionaries in the nineteenth century were not living in a vacuum, but in a world where the Enlightenment, rationalism, and science had gained a new prominence. These ideas also inclined those who considered them to search for universals in the expanding empire. Missionaries were often well suited for early anthropological work as they spent vast amounts of time with Indigenous peoples and were keenly interested in learning about culture, so that they might find ways to speed conversion. The language projects that missionaries initiated in the early nineteenth century grew by the later century into a field of study all its own, linguistics. Victorian missionary zeal helped shape the new scientific discipline by setting in motion much of the fieldwork needed to study language comparatively. Thus, "missionaries… played an important role as amateur anthropologist."[21] Missionaries collected in-depth and long-term data as they often had good access to the communities they were studying.[22] This proximity coupled with a heightened moral sensitivity led missionaries to rigorously analyse the people in an Indigenous community and, thus, to have a more complete understanding of their culture and language. Missionaries' cultural studies pre-dated anthropologists', meaning that in later years anthropologists were left studying peoples that had already been largely impacted by European contact and conversion.[23] The cultural information collected by

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[21] David Nock, "A Chapter in the Amateur Period of Canadian Anthropology: A Missionary Case Study," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies,* vol. 2, no. 2 (1982), p. 251.

[22] Burridge, *In the Way*, pp. 215-16. It is important to note that many Aboriginal communities kept missionaries at a safe distance dispensing only the portions of their cultural practices or withholding them altogether. See Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times,* 3rd ed. (Oxford and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 111.

[23] P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of the Enlightenment* (London, Melbourne and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1982), pp. 294-95.

missionaries was still used by linguists and anthropologists well into the twentieth century.[24]

Although it was always their central goal, learning Indigenous languages was not always an easy task for missionaries. Often the sheer complexity of these languages precluded quick study by any outsiders. As well, missionaries were confronted by suspicious Indigenous groups who strongly linked language and culture and who were hesitant to share more complex linguistic structures and practices.[25] In some parts of the empire generations of missionaries failed to secure complete understandings of the local languages and, thus, translation projects were delayed.[26] Language learning skills were not something that missionaries were well trained for, especially since in most cases they were the first to encounter the language they were studying. The result from these early difficulties was that early missionaries published, with great rapidity and frequency, grammars of the languages they studied.[27] Hovdhaugen argues that evangelical missionaries struggled more as they had come from "fundamentalist congregations in which the clergy mainly consisted of laymen" and were thus on the whole less educated. C. L. Higham points to the difficulties that Protestant missionaries faced in translation and states "their educations had not prepared them to become translators and cultural interpreters."[28] There was a clear anti-intellectual streak to many evangelical religions

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[24] Nock, "A Chapter in the Amateur Period of Canadian Anthropology," p. 216.

[25] Kenneth Morrison, "Discourse and the Accommodation of Values: Toward a Revision of Mission History," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* vol. 53, no. 3 (1985), p. 366.

[26] Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 255-257. Gunson provides a detailed case from Tahiti in which several missionaries spent their entire career trying to master the local vernacular.

[27] Even Hovdhaugen, *...and the Word was God: Missionary Linguistics and Missionary Grammar* (Munster: Nodus Publikationen, 1996), p. 15.

that argued that the only true path to God was found in reading the word of God; therefore, all reading should concentrate on the Bible. This anti-intellectualism was partly a reactionary movement within evangelicalism that saw the intellectual endeavours of other churches, particularly the Roman Catholic church, and was reacting to them.[29] The main evangelical tenet remained that one should be connected to God on an emotional level, not on some kind of rational level. Evangelicals who attained higher education often struggled to ensure that they still had "an emotional and practical acceptance of the personal implications of belief."[30] There were a number of other reasons for shunning higher education, among them a concern that any time spent in higher education was time taken from looking to the word of God and finding a path to salvation.[31] There was clearly a struggle for those men who sought higher learning and knowledge to balance this education with the need to remain close to God. The higher education of clerics was, however, only a minor problem for a select few. Evangelicalism still was strongly centred on education, especially on bringing all people to an equal level of reading comprehension so that they could read the word of God on their own. Evangelicals might "condemn a purely intellectual approach to religion," but some study was important, especially for the masses that remained out of reach of the Word.[32] Thus, Higham and Hovdhaugen wrongly generalize all evangelical missionaries and assume that all had little interest or ability in training in and learning Aboriginal

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[28] C. L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched & Redeemable Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), p. 62.

[29] Doreen Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 206.

[30] Ibid., p. 206.

[31] Ibid., p. 208.

[32] Ibid., p. 209.

languages. Many evangelical men received instruction in the classical languages of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin while at school or in preparation for their overseas missions.[33] These languages were seen as the basis for any linguistic study, and as good training for the missionaries' future role as translators. If we take James Evans as an example, we see his use of Greek and Hebrew as comparative models throughout his linguistic studies.[34]

The whole purpose of learning Indigenous languages was to speed Bible translation. In the early nineteenth century mission societies pursued linguistic education with a renewed zeal pressing their missionaries for expert translations, as "God's honour and the glory of his word… ought to be done as well as possible."[35] An example of the concern over the accuracy of the translations is seen in James Evans's own mission experience. In the early 1830s the mission society was torn between accepting the translations of the Bible into Ojibwa of Evans and those of Peter Jones.[36] Evans's translation was eventually accepted by the missionary society, even though Peter Jones was Ojibwa by birth, and his mother tongue was Ojibwa. Church leaders may have viewed Jones as the perfect "go-between, a bicultural, bilingual individual able to present Christian doctrine to the Indians in intelligible terms,"[37] but as a Native catechist his translations were unacceptable. In the mission societies view Evans, as a European with a scientific approach to language, was a more reliable translator.

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[33] Ibid., p. 207.

[34] Evidence of his use of these languages is found in both his correspondence and journals, and in the workbook which is here under study. Further explanation of this use of Greek and Hebrew will occur in chapter six.

[35] T. Jackson, "The Life of the Rev. Richard Watson, 2nd edition" (London: 1834), p. 575.

[36] Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, p. 62.

[37] Ibid., p. 64.

Missionary interest in language and translation was part of the practical necessities of empire and conversion. The learning and translation of indigenous languages formed key parts of the imperial project, and were clearly designed to bring about cultural change. In his progress report for 1842 Wesleyan Missionary Society General Secretary Robert Alder (1796-1873) revealed this connection:

> The services which British Christianity is now rendering… can never be forgotten. Should it please God to permit England to fall from her present high estate; should this great country cease to be what she now is, - the asylum of freedom, the mart of commerce and of manufactures, the ark of true religion, and the leader of the Missionary hosts of Protestantism; it will be remembered to her honour, by future generations, while partaking of the blessedness of that golden age which the world shall yet witness, and to which the finger of promise and of prophecy point, - that her sons and her daughters nobly contributed to produce the harvest which shall then be reaped with so much joy.[38]

If language and translation were important to missionaries, how important were they to the development of empire? In their groundbreaking work, Jean and John Comaroff have explored how missionaries often used language as a means of subversion: "the colonization of language became an increasingly important feature of the process of symbolic domination at large."[39] It is important to consider the implications of Europeans involving themselves in the translation of Indigenous languages, and the impact of such authorship. Eric Cheyfitz has explored this concept in his enlightening work *The Poetics of Imperialism* in which he argues that Europeans from the time of contact created Indigenous people as a "pure figure… homogeniz[ed] under the name of 'Indians' [as] the primal act of translation."[40] Cheyfitz sees that from the moment of first

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[38] Robert Alder, *Wesleyan Missions: Their Progress Stated and Their Claims Enforced* (London: The Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1842), p. vi-vii.

[39] Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* p. 218.

[40] Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from 'The Tempest' to 'Tarzan'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 105.

contact Europeans, knowingly, translated Aboriginal culture, and that missionary activity and focus on language simply moved this translation into a more prominently and overtly colonial realm.[41] O. P. Kejariwal argues that missionary interest in language was largely geared toward gaining understanding so that they might point out the flaws in Indigenous belief systems and thereby advance education and conversion programs.[42] Lamin Sanneh has examined what he sees as the "conflicting role" of missionary activity as missionaries "for the one part proceeded to impose their culture… thus suppressing local cultures" while at the same time, through language studies they were "cultivat[ing] indigenous languages and literature to the neglect of education and technical skills."[43]

Although it is important to not misconstrue the Imperial role of missionaries, we must not simplify the intricate relationships they built with Aboriginal peoples. As Sanneh has simply stated "if people are trying to learn your language, then they can hardly avoid striking up a relationship with you however much they might wish to dominate you."[44] Portraying missionaries interactions as one-sided misrepresents the degree of agency that Aboriginal people had. Aboriginals were often willing if not active participants in missionaries linguistic studies. We must, therefore, consider those Aboriginal peoples' reasons for interest and involvement with missionaries and their language projects, and how they may have acted "as vitally constructive historical

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[41] Cheyfitz, *Poetics of Imperialism*, p. 109.

[42] O. P. Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's Past, 1784-1838* (Delhi & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 130.

[43] Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, p. 6

[44] Ibid., p. 173. This argument is also explored in: Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism," pp. 309-10.

agents."[45] Some Aboriginal people, confronted with a changing world, saw missionary interest in their languages as a means of preserving them, and thereby actively pursued Christianity.[46] Even before missionaries had entered the west requests for religious instruction came from Aboriginal groups; for example, when George Simpson passed through the interior of British Columbia in 1824-25 several Aboriginal leaders requested that he return with missionaries to begin religious instruction.[47] Such a response stands in sharp contrast with traditional beliefs of missionary/Aboriginal relationships. So how do we explain this counterintuitive reaction from Indigenous peoples? Olive Dickason has ably argued that Aboriginal incorporation of Christianity was natural and changing, that for many Aboriginal people "there was room for both sets of spiritual beings, each with its own requirements at the appropriate times and places."[48] Thus, on the matter of religion, a "practical rationality" existed for Aboriginal peoples, "whereby [they] reflectively assess[ed] the implications… in terms of practical criteria" and made reasoned decisions of spirituality.[49] The resulting religion, be it Christian or traditional, tended toward hybridity. Aboriginal peoples shaped their own Christianities, often to the horror of missionaries who found "that field exposure sometimes wrought havoc with

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[45] Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionaries," p. 375.

[46] Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionaries," p. 377.

[47] Brett Christophers, *Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), p. 15.

[48] Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* p. 111. Dickason also addresses this issue of Aboriginal synthesis of religion in a short passage relating to a Cree prophet who appeared following the arrival of the Methodist mission in 1840: see Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* p. 218. For a good case study on the issue of Aboriginal converts see Clarence Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet too Large* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992).

[49] Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Myth Making in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 19.

predetermined ways."[50] In many cases this was due to the spiritual nature of Aboriginal life as "if spirituality held the precolonial world together, it had to adapt in some way when Natives were faced with a new order of things."[51] What these examples highlight is that Indigenous people were not simply acted upon by missionaries, but interacted with and negotiated space within the Christianity that they encountered.

James Evans as Missionary

Addressing the close association between conversion and civilization during the early Victorian period permits an assessment of the work of James Evans as a missionary and linguist. The commonly held view of nineteenth-century missionaries was based on the idea that higher civilizations had written forms of communication, while those who remained oral were less civilized. Language became a good testing ground for theories of civility as missionaries tried to find evidence that language was connected, and thus that all men were of one mankind. In his workbook manuscript James Evans sought to explain how Europeans had become literate while North Americans were not:

> The Indians of America know nothing of alphabetic writing. We may then date their exodus from Asia at a period prior to the general knowledge of the art of writing at least in that region from whence they migrated.[52]

Evans, through his studies, found explanations of how Europeans had a written language while Indigenous people did not, thus maintaining his monogenist belief that all men came from one origin. The dividing line between literate and oral therefore became an

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[50] Sanneh, *Translating the Message,* p. 5.

[51] Christophers, *Positioning the Missionary,* p. 15.

[52] James Evans, Workbook, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file 8, p. 35.

example of how civilization was possible for Indigenous people. By their migration they had simply been cut off from the progress toward civility.

It was not long after Evans was posted to an Indian reserve at Rice Lake in 1833 that he began his study of the Ojibwa language. The result of this work was his *Speller and Interpreter,* published in 1837 in the hopes that such a work would

> aid the missionary and others in obtaining a knowledge of this extensively spoken language, and to place in the hands of the Indians an assistant to correct orthography… [t]he exertions making at the present day to Christianize, and thereby to civilize, the Aborigines of this country.[53]

Evans, like many missionaries, had an intellectual interest in language, often concentrating on language to an extent that seems beyond the parameters of evangelicalism. Under the guise of making the Bible more accessible for the Ojibwa and Cree, Evans developed a distinct syllabic writing system for each of the languages. Evans felt that learning Roman orthography was a further barrier to Aboriginal people learning the word of God. It was, he argued, therefore

> desirable that a system of orthography should be adopted by which the Scriptures, and other works of a religious nature… can be made intelligible to those people; and by which the missionaries and teachers may be effectually assisted in acquiring that knowledge of the language which is indispensably necessary to promote their usefulness in the field of their labour.[54]

Evans's interest in language carried him far from its simple use for missionary work. He was interested in advancing knowledge about Aboriginal languages for Europeans, and, more centrally, in finding the universal characteristics of language.

A combination of evangelical and enlightenment thought is clearly visible in a fifty-page document written by Evans during his stay at Fort Michipicoten in the winter

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[53] James Evans, *The Speller and Interpreter*, p. 3.

[54] Ibid., p. 3-4.

of 1838-39. The document explores the universals of language by contrasting Hebrew, Greek, Sanskrit, Korean, Persian, and Arabic.[55] Evans spends the early pages of his study arguing against the misinformed scientific view of the journal *Archeologia Americana,* which had published a theoretical treatise on American Indians that argued for their origins being separate from those of Europeans.[56] Evans sought to prove connections between Indigenous North Americans and the rest of the world in his writing, using both scripture and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for sources. In one passage he transcribes from the encyclopaedia's entry on language:

> In the Sanscrit, or ancient language of the Gentoos, OUR signifies day: In the eastern languages the same word is used to denote both light and fire. Chaldee, UR is fire, Egyptian OR is the sun or light. Hebrew AUR is light; Greek αηρ is the air, often light; Latin AURA is the air from the Æolic Greek; and in Irish it is AEAR.[57]

Evans's workbook is designed simply to prove "that the Indians are the descendants of the Asiatic Nations," and therefore he must draw on Enlightenment literature that supports a similar view.[58] This hybridity of thought was not uncommon for evangelical missionaries. On the issue of the universal character of language, he cites from the journal *Asiatick Researches,* a publication that was highly scientific. When speaking of translation the journal emphasized the need for the development of "a

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[55] Evans, Workbook, p. 35.

[56] Ibid., p. 1-2.

[57] Ibid., p. 40; See also, *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; Constructed on a Plan, by which the Different Sciences and Arts are Digested into the form of Distinct Treatises or Systems, Comprehending the History, Theory, and Practice, of each, according to the Latest Discoveries and Improvements; and Full Explanations given of the Various Detached Parts of Knowledge, whether relating to Natural and Artificial Objects, or to Matters Ecclesiastical, Civil, Military, Commercial, &c, 3rd Edition, vol. IX,* (Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. MacFarquhar, 1797), p. 534. I have included the full title here as I feel it reflects the basis of this publication in the thinking of Enlightenment scientism.

[58] Evans, Workbook, p. 1.

complete system; so that each original sound may be rendered invariably by one appointed symbol."[59] This emphasis reflected a purely scientific approach to linguistics, and it was a highly influential source for Evans. He writes in his *Speller and Interpreter* that

> [a]ll who have attempted to represent the Indian dialects by written characters have proved the impracticability of accomplishing this object by the use of the Roman characters .... none have presented us with a complete system, in which each sound is rendered invariably, by a distinct and appropriate character.[60]

Although he was an evangelical missionary, Evans, and I would argue many other missionaries like him, was not unaffected by Enlightenment thought. His examination of language was directed at an evangelical outcome, but it was highly scientific in its procedure.

Evans's workbook does make the historian ponder how such an anthropological endeavour as language comparison was tempered with evangelical beliefs such as the undertaking of Bible translation. His writing clearly sees the spiritual importance for the language study and translation of the Bible, but he is also keenly interested in making connections of universalism, not just for reasons of spirituality. In a letter to his wife and daughter in the spring of 1839 he writes,

> I have been preparing a work for future publication on the Character, Religion, superstitious traditions, & general manner of the Indians as well as of the Asiatics... I am ready to flatter myself that I can offer more rational & historical proof of the Transpacific origin of the Aborigines of America, than has yet been presented to the world, at least in any one volume[;] I only regret my ignorance of Hebrew.[61]

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[59] *Asiatick Researches: or, Transactions of the Society, vol. 1* (Calcutta: Manuel Cantopher, 1788), p. 1.

[60] Evans, *Speller and Interpreter,* p. 4.

[61] Evans, letter to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, Box 4734, file 255, letter 80.

Evans shows in his workbook how enlightenment thought on language aligned with the missionary's spiritual beliefs. Evans also looked to Cartesian linguistics, which searched for "general features of grammatical structure [which] are common to all languages and reflect certain fundamental properties of the mind."[62] Universalism was accessible to Evans from both the spiritual and rational fields of thought. By examining Evans's influences we can see the complexity of missionary thought and its paradoxical capacity to further both academic and missionary endeavour.

Higham has stressed the "problems that the missionaries had with translation" and the pressures that missionary societies placed on them to complete these Indigenous translations.[63] In the case of James Evans such problems are not evident. Evans revelled in the study of language and exhorted the missionary society to do more translations when they told him to delay publishing. Evans clearly understood the importance of this work as it pertained to the larger missionary project, and he used this angle to garner support for his academic pursuit. In his correspondence with the missionary society, he is clear about the purpose and necessity of a more comprehensive study of the Ojibwa language, one that would include the formation of a syllabary:

> We want a translation of the scriptures. I say a translation of the whole or of a part. The circulation of several translations by different persons, each of whom has, doubtless conscientiously leaned more or less towards his peculiarity of sentiment on points where Christians agree to disagree, cannot be viewed otherwise than as an evil, and calculated rather to perplex the minds of the Indians, by seeming or real contradictions, than to establish them in "the faith once delivered to the saints." That one version, approved by all denominations would be preferable to several, requires no proof; and I have no doubt, were the

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[62] Noam Chomsky, "*Cartesian Linguistics:* Acquisition and Use of Language," Stephen P. Stitch, ed., *Innate Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 89.

[63] Higham, *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable,* p. 62.

> proper steps taken, we should soon possess one and reap great advantages therefrom.[64]

Within the following year Evans would be told to proceed with such a project and by the fall of 1840 he had completed his syllabic alphabet. The benefit of his study would fall to the entire missionary movement; however, its roots remained firmly planted in evangelicalism.

Missionary involvement in language study peaked before the mid-nineteenth century and never again reached the peak of interest that it experienced in the early Victorian period. This decline in interest was in part due to the fact that after 1850 fewer unknown cultures remained in the empire. As well, missionaries were quickly being surpassed by professional anthropologists and linguists in the study of culture and language.[65] But attitudes were also changing. The belief in improvement was not permanent; missionaries and evangelicals in general turned away from the notion by the 1870s toward one more racist in its tone and based on trusteeship and cultural assimilation.[66] This shift in attitude brought with it a shift in the focus of empire. Conversion "implied informal influence" while trusteeship "required the annexation of

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[64] Evans, letter to the Bible and Missionary Societies, 20 February 1839, University of Western Ontario, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, Box 4734, file 255, letter 75.

[65] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 331.

[66] Curtin, *Image of Africa*, p. 415. It is interesting to note how closely this movement was linked to the development of Aboriginal policy in colonies like Canada. Historian John Tobias has explored what he calls the shift from a policy of protection and civilization in the early part of the nineteenth century to full cultural assimilation after 1870; see John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6:2 (1976); rptd. in *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native History*, ed. by Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), pp. 39-55.

[peoples'] territory... [and] the burden of direct administration."[67] The change in view toward empire brought with it a change in view toward mission.

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[67] Curtin, *Image of Africa*, p. 415.

Chapter Three – Missionaries in the Fur Trade

The work that James Evans undertook while in the company of fur traders at the HBC post Fort Michipicoten leads the historian to question exactly what the impact of this environment was. Evans himself wrote favourably of the HBC men with whom he spent the winter of 1838-39, and in the course of that winter seems to have made some important, and influential, friendships. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the relationship between missionaries and fur traders, and to determine whether Evans's relationship with the men of Fort Michipicoten was exceptional or ordinary.

The western Canadian missionary project evolved within a directed and specific environment. The western mission was shaped by fur trade society as it operated within the HBC-controlled territory and missionaries were reliant on the company for survival. By its charter of 1670 the HBC controlled all of the territory that drained into Hudson Bay, in essence all land west and north of Upper Canada, a territory over which they were keen to retain sole control.[1] Thus missionaries were allowed into the HBC's territory on the HBC's terms. But, as proprietor, the HBC obligated itself to transport, house, and feed any visitors to its country. This policy was largely a form of self-preservation as the company could use such hospitality to limit the contact its visitors had with Aboriginal people, thus protecting its monopoly over the trade. The company, once missionaries made their way into the country, approved or not, was obligated to make changes in its policy, and move to a more insidious policy toward the Aboriginal people. Historian Robin Fisher argues that

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[1] By 1821 the HBC was also controlling territory west of the Rocky Mountains.

> [m]issionaries did not leave Europe to accommodate themselves to the frontier; they came with plans to alter Indian society totally. They were, therefore, misfits within the fur-trading environment. The fur traders knew that the missionaries could destroy the fur trade by converting the Indians to a new way of life. Nevertheless, the traders' attitude to most missionaries was one of uneasy toleration.[2]

While the changing fur trade environment that Fisher describes is largely accurate, it would not hold for all posts and all men of the HBC, nor for all men who travelled west as missionaries during the 1830s and 1840s. The relationships, which Fisher simplifies, were not monolithic. They were complex, as human relationships tend to be; thus, the interaction between missionary and fur trader was variable depending on the men who were involved. The case of Evans at Michipicoten counters Fisher's argument as Evans found a great camaraderie, and common interest at the post despite, or perhaps because of, his evangelical beliefs. Did Evans simply fit in better? Were the men working at Michipicoten exceptional?

The relationships between missionary and fur traders must be viewed as an interaction. This chapter endeavours to understand how, in the HBC controlled environment, missionaries were able to develop relationships with fur trade men, and what the importance of these relationships was in the mission project. What we will see is that Evans capably formulated a strong working relationship with the fur traders at the post and was able to utilize their experiences to further his own work. The purpose of this examination will be to highlight the environment that Evans found himself in at Fort

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[2] Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), p. 120.

Michipicoten and then to determine if this environment was an important component in the linguistic work that he undertook.

The Trade and Missions

In the fur trade world of mid nineteenth-century Rupert's Land, missionaries were bit players, their work seen as subsidiary to the HBC trade and of little relevance to the daily operations of the fur trade forts.[3] However, though they were forced to play by the HBC's rules, these missionaries were not completely without influence in shaping the country, as general attitudes within the trade were also shifting. From the very earliest days, Simpson had a clear view of how missions would fit into the fur trade world:

> The Society should place the Clergyman in a certain degree under the protection of the Coy's representative and direct him to look up to that Gentleman for support and assistance in almost every thing as a superior; on the contrary if he attempts to dictate or act independently of, or in opposition to the views & wishes of that Gentleman it is to be feared they will not draw together. The missionary ought to be cool and temperate in his habits and of a mild conciliatory disposition even tempered and not too much disposed to find fault severely.... If he makes himself agreeable to the principal officers in the Service all will go on well and he will be supported on all occasions but on the contrary there is much reason to apprehend that disappointment vexation and even more serious evils might be the result.[4]

By the time Simpson wrote this passage in 1824 there were already a number of missionaries operating in the west, though they were doing so without company sanction. The Roman Catholic Jesuits had been a recognizable force on Lake Superior as early as

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[3] Much of the material on HBC and missionary relations was compiled in my writing a paper on the Methodist mission at Fort Edmonton written in the Spring of 2003 for History 699, "Fort Edmonton," at the University of Alberta. See Paul Hengstler, "'We exercise no control over them': Reverend Thomas Woolsey, the Methodist Mission and the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Edmonton, 1855-1861" (unpublished paper, 2003). Used with permission from Dr. Gerhard Ens.

[4] Frederick Merk, ed., *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and back to York Factory 1824-1825; together with Accompanying Documents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 108.

the mid-seventeenth century.[5] The HBC managed to keep the missionaries largely at bay until the establishment of the Selkirk settlement in 1811. By 1818 the Roman Catholics had a prominent position at Red River with three priests, and the Church of England missionary John West arrived in Red River in 1820.[6] Neither of these missions was officially sanctioned by the HBC even though they became permanently established. It was not until 1840 when Evans led three young British Wesleyan Methodists that an officially sanctioned mission was established.

An examination of the available literature on missionary activity in the Northwest reveals little about the relationships between fur traders and missionaries. The majority of scholarship has focused on Aboriginal contact with missionaries, institutional history of the church, and biographical and autobiographical accounts. Two of the earliest social histories of the fur trade did examine missionary/fur trader relationships, but with a specific focus in mind. Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties* placed an important emphasis on missionaries, calling them a "new and powerful agent for social change" in fur trade society.[7] For Van Kirk the missionary presented the first real challenge to the power of Aboriginal women, as missionaries promoted church marriages instead of *marriage à la façon du pays*. The result was a degradation of Aboriginal and Métis wives, at the same time as white women were beginning to enter the country. Jennifer Brown's *Strangers in Blood* had less to say about missionary relationships with fur

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[5] John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 28.

[6] Ibid., p. 98.

[7] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), p. 129.

traders.[8] Brown only briefly examined the role of missionaries in the fur trade and did so on many of the same issues that Van Kirk's study used. Brown's work was less critical of the missionaries than Van Kirk's, choosing to see the missionary and the fur trader conspiring to create a more civilized fur trade life at the expense of Aboriginal women.

N. J. Goossen argues that the relationship between the fur traders and missionaries was largely interdependent.[9] However, by using the model of interdependency, Goossen implies that the HBC was dependent on the missionaries. While, by the 1840s, the HBC sought out missionaries to help secure Native trade with their posts, it was hardly a dependent relationship. Missionaries wanted to be in the west, and the only way they could manage to establish themselves there was by being dependent on the company.[10] The HBC provided transportation, shelter, and food for these missionaries; in return, the missionary provided a religious anchor, binding Aboriginal converts to the trade post. The two indeed needed each other; the missionary depended on the company, but whether the company depended on the missionary could be debated. Rev. Gerald Hutchinson in his article "British Methodists and the Hudson's Bay Company" traces the relationship that developed between the first fully sanctioned missionaries and the fur traders in the 1840s. Hutchinson argues that this "unusual partnership" built an "enduring legacy in the west" of cooperation between the HBC and missionaries.[11]

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[8] Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p.201-02.

[9] N. J. Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1860," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974, pp. 4-5.

[10] Grant, *Moon of Wintertime,* p. 106.

[11] Gerald Hutchinson, "British Methodists and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1840-1854," Dennis Butcher, et al., ed. *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), p. 28.

Michael Owen has explored the educational relationships formed in Rupert's Land, and why the HBC's interest was turned toward education and mission in the 1830s and 1840s. Owen postulates that George Simpson believed that education and religion would secure Aboriginal people to specific trading posts and thus stabilize fluctuations in the trade.[12]

Historian John Long valuably suggests that in order to understand the relationships between fur trade company men and missionaries we must highlight the religious environment of the metropolis, either London or Toronto, and examine how missionaries needed to adapt their behaviour once in Rupert's Land. When looking to the case of James Evans there was clearly adaptation going on in his winter at Michipicoten as he aided in provisioning the fort by hunting and fishing. Long examines George Barnley's relationship with the men at Moose Factory and finds an incompatibility between evangelical beliefs and HBC interests. Barnley endued his work at the post with pious Methodist principles, with disastrous results.[13] This case emphasizes the division between the 'civilized' world of London or Toronto and the fur trade world of Moose Factory. Not all missionaries had as much difficulty as Barnley perhaps because not all missionaries approached their fur trade posts as though they were a village in Upper Canada or in England. Judging by their rejection of the missionaries'

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[12] Michael Owen, "Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in Rupert's Land 1840-1854: Educational Activities Among the Native Population," M. Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1979, p. 81.

[13] Barnley proclaimed the evils of popery to such an extent that those Roman Catholics who had previously attended services boycotted his church. Barnley tried to have open-air public meetings; Miles, the HBC chief trader, demanded that all church services be held in the chapel. Barnley lamented that his "attempts at reforming customs like dancing and drinking only antagonized the congregation" and so he tried to make Miles enforce a strict code of personal behaviour. Miles wrote, "the villagers are offended by Barnley's efforts to correct their evil habits" and ignored the request. Eventually the relationship between the missionary and the company men completely broke down. Miles became openly hostile to Barnley and asked Simpson to have him recalled. Barnley tried to have Miles excommunicated, and eventually returned to England, disgusted by his mission experience in Rupert's Land. John S. Long, "The Reverend George Barnley, Wesleyan Methodism, and the Fur Trade Company Families of James Bay," *Ontario History,* vol. 77, no. 1 (1985), p. 54, and p. 58.

new religious and moral values few company men were willing to conform to the changing moral standards of the outside world.

Prolific church historian Frank Peake has added a valuable analysis of the relations between fur traders and missionaries. Peake argued that the HBC took a paternalistic view of missionaries, and that the nature of this unbalanced relationship created tensions as the company sought profits, and the church sought souls.[14] This situation was exacerbated by the youthfulness of many of the clergy sent west. Peake also pointed out that the application of any policy towards missionaries "depended on the attitudes of the officers at individual posts."[15] This is an important aspect to consider; the missionary experience could be diverse.

A better understanding of missionary relations with fur traders can be found by examining the published accounts of missionaries themselves. The works of John McDougall provide ample evidence of how the missionaries believed they fit into the western environment.[16] McDougall, who arrived in the Edmonton area in the early 1860s, portrays himself first and foremost as the rugged outdoorsman, breaking down many barriers to bring the word of God to the Natives. In his books McDougall portrays his predecessor, Reverend Thomas Woolsey (1819-1894), as a bumbling, out-of-place

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[14] Frank Peake, "Fur Traders and Missionaries: Some Reflections on the Attitudes of the H.B.C. towards Mission Work amongst the Indians" *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3, no. 1 (1972), p. 88.

[15] Ibid., p. 77.

[16] In his retirement McDougall created somewhat of a publishing industry, including the following: *Forest Lake and Prairie: Twenty Years of Frontier Life in Western Canada, 1842-1862* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895); *Saddle, Sled and Snowshoe: Pioneering on the Saskatchewan in the Sixties* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896); *Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898); and *Parsons on the Prairies,* Thomas Bredin, ed. (Don Mills: Longman Canada, 1971).

fool, thus someone for whom the HBC had little time or attention.[17] The relationship between the HBC and the missionaries undoubtedly changed with the arrival of the McDougalls. In his written accounts McDougall sees this change largely as the result of his and his father's fitting in better with frontier life. He establishes a good pattern of what a proper missionary should be, by using Rev. Woolsey as his foil:

> Sometimes I had to roll Mr. Woolsey out of his cariole in order to get him on his feet and beside the fire. At times the condition of things was ludicrous in the extreme.... This was now his ninth winter in the West, and still his organ of locality was so defective that he would lose himself in a ten-acre field... it was impossible for him to adapt himself to a new country. He would always be dependent on others.[18]

This description suggests that certain masculine traits were vital in the wilderness. Woolsey highlighted for McDougall what made a missionary an outcast in the fur trade, while McDougall's view of himself was presented as the ideal. The accuracy of this portrayal is questionable. Although the McDougalls were in many ways more successful in the western mission than Woolsey, there is little evidence that they enjoyed any better relations with the HBC men at the fort.[19] In looking to these accounts, we must remain mindful of the method of authorship underway, and the possibility of the editor's hand infiltrating the work. I.S. MacLaren has convincingly argued that often nineteenth-century travel literature fell victim to the heavy hand of editors who were looking to formulate an imagined west, or were embellished by authors trying to dramatize their

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[17] Woolsey served as Methodist missionary in and around Fort Edmonton from 1855 until 1864, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Victoria Settlement in the early 1860s. At a time when Roman Catholics were quickly and successfully expanding their missions in the west, Woolsey secured Cree and Stoney conversions, and thus maintained the Methodist presence in the west until the arrival and expansion of the Methodist mission under the McDougalls.

[18] McDougall, *Saddle, Sled and Snowshoe,* pp. 113-115.

[19] Hengstler, "'We exercise no control over them,'" pp. 11-12.

adventures.[20] The degree to which any of these accounts were edited, or embellished, or reworked for the intended audience is difficult to ascertain; however, judging by the style of writing and the melodramatic tone that often was taken, one is inclined to infer that these authors were not above presenting a sensationalized story to sell books.

A full understanding of the relationships that were built between men during the fur trade requires the consideration of some theoretical frameworks. Adele Perry has examined the fur trade era in British Columbia from a homo-social and racial perspective. Perry argues that missionaries were often critics of the homo-social culture that existed in fur trade life and as a result were often marginalized within the post and so "forced to 'batch it' without mates."[21] Perry argues that missionaries had little influence in the fur trade world because they were keen to criticize it. In the early Methodist mission it is an important factor to consider. Wesleyan Methodist missionaries were arriving in the west straight from England where evangelical beliefs were strongly promoting ideas of the modern nuclear family, where one man ruled over his home, his children, and his wife.[22] In the west they suddenly were faced with a communal life with few women. This environment would have contrasted sharply with their evangelical sensibilities, where women were to be a moderating factor and the moral and spiritual centre of the home.[23] George Barnley, one of the Methodist missionaries who arrived in the west under Evans's supervision in 1840, found nothing but trouble at his posting of Moose Factory after he

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[20] I. S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," *International Journal of Canadian Studies,* vol. 5, (Spring 1992), pp. 39-68.

[21] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* p. 25.

[22] F. Knight, "'Male and Female He Created Them': Men, Women and the Question of Gender," John Wolffe, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 34.

[23] Ibid., p. 31.

openly criticized fur trade societal norms. Because of this stance, Barnley was marginalized by the men in the fort and, eventually, was admonished by Governor Simpson and had to abandon the mission.[24] Missionaries who could not sculpt their beliefs to fit the fur trade lifestyle found little success.

Elizabeth Vibert has examined the gendering of fur trade life in her article "Real Men Hunt Buffalo." Vibert seeks to understand the gendered cultural commentaries found in fur trade narratives, in other words, how fur traders placed outsider men, either Aboriginal men or missionaries, within their constructed notions of what was manly and what was not.[25] Vibert looks to the ranking and societal construction of fur trade posts in the mid-nineteenth century and finds that it was mirroring changes in Victorian family patterns. Men aspired to reach the gentlemanly status of having their own home, and, in many posts, separate dwellings for men of importance were constructed.[26] Vibert examines the impact of missionaries in the forts and argues that "missionaries… led attacks on the morality and social acceptability of country unions" in the trade.[27] Although missionaries wrote prodigiously about the morality of the fort, it would seem that they had little real power to direct any change within the fort society.[28] Governor

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[24] John S. Long, "The Reverend George Barnley," p. 56.

[25] Vibert, Elizabeth. "Real men hunt buffalo: masculinity, race and class in British fur traders' narratives," Catherine Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 282.

[26] Ibid., p. 283.

[27] Ibid., p. 285.

[28] For the purposes of this study I have examined HBC post records, including post journals, correspondence, and accounts, for Fort Michipicoten, Norway House, and Fort Chimo. In previous work I have extensively examined the historical record of Fort Edmonton in the 1850s and 1860s. What is surprising in all of these fur trade records is the lack of discussion of the missionaries' activities. The issue of fur trader reportage of missionary activities will be discussed later in this chapter (see page 77).

George Simpson even cautioned against these attacks. In an early writing Simpson defined the parameters of the missionary's role at a fur trade post.

> The Missionary ought to be cool and temperate in his habits and of a Mild conciliatory disposition even tempered and not too much disposed to find fault severely with any little laxity of Morals he may discover at the Coy's Establishment otherwise 'tis to be feared he would find his situation uncomfortable and it might even interfere with the objects of his mission; he ought to understand in the outset that nearly all the Gentlemen & Servants have families altho' Marriage ceremonies are unknown in the country and that it would be all in vain to attempt breaking through this uncivilized custom.[29]

Although some missionaries made direct attempts to change moral standards at their posts, little success came of them.

Fur traders were not always welcoming when a missionary moved into the post, as his arrival created an added stress on the post's supplies and at times disrupted the trade. There are historical accounts of disputes that erupted and problems that arose with the invasion of a post by a missionary. Officers of the HBC had pragmatic reasons for these hostilities. Rupert House postmaster Robert Miles succinctly described the added pressures that missionaries brought:

> Every Indian here is Settled with, but they seem to hang about to hear the Revd. Mr. Barnley, although most of them are destitute of food, and under existing circumstances, I do not like to order them off. Our Goose Casks & Oatmeal Barrels must however suffer in Consequence, as no fish are caught here at this season of the Year, and I imagine I would be censured did I permit them to Starve under the immediate eye of our Pastor.[30]

The need to keep the missionary happy was clearly impinging upon the operation of the fort in this circumstance. The problem of feeding missionaries was a constant complaint in the fur trade record. Evans often ate with the gentlemen of the company, as is seen in

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[29] Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 108.

[30] Quoted in Toby Morantz and Daniel Francis, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), p. 163.

the post journal entry of 23 October 1838, which reports that "Mr. Evans [was] to mess with us."[31] Early on at Michipicoten Evans established his willingness to pitch in. In the post journals Evans's work in helping to feed the post is mentioned often. In early January when there was little food Evans and Jacobs set nets in the river and caught trout;[32] Jacobs was often sent out hunting and when times were lean again in April "Mr. Evans & his Interpreter speared a number of suckers."[33] Though they were dependent on the company for sustenance not all missionaries were unwilling to assist in provisioning the post.

However, fishing and hunting were not the reason for missionaries' arrival in the west. Their purpose was conversion, and most took this opportunity up with great zeal. To better understand the missionaries' view of their work in the HBC territory and how they felt it could operate at trade posts, one needs to look at the instructions sent with the missionaries by the missionary societies. Reverend Alder who had negotiated the mission scheme with Simpson in 1839 wrote the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society's instructions, and included the following under the heading of "General Behaviour":

> Be swift to hear, slow to speak – slower still to wrath. Be cautious in forming opinions of the characters of others and still more of expressing those opinions… Identify yourself with no parties. Strive to promote peace. Be the Friend of all, the enemy of none. Show all due respect to lawful authority. Treat your civil superiors with due respect, Act towards your inferiors with kindness & understanding.[34]

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[31] Post Journal, 23 October 1838, HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839.

[32] Post Journal, 17 and 18 January 1839, HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839.

[33] Post Journal, 23 April 1839, HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839.

[34] Copy of instructions from Robert Alder to William Mason, 1840. James Evans Collection, fond F10, Victoria University Archives, University of Toronto.

The instructions seem to point to the missionary making himself as much a part of fur trade life as possible. The instructions diverge sharply from those ideas expressed by governor Simpson on the role of missionaries.[35] Simpson saw the missionaries as subordinates, while Alder is telling them to lead by example. Although there may have been some misunderstanding of the missionaries' role in company territory, both the HBC and the WMMS were keen to ensure that their missionaries were on their best behaviour. The missionary was to be an upstanding citizen within the fort structure and to avoid conflict with the fur traders:

> Cultivate brotherly affection towards all your colleagues. Indulge no unworthy suspicions. Remember that love envieth not, and that envy is the source of inexpressible mischief to its subjects as well as to its objects.... Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed. Do no while away time.[36]

These remarks seem to be telling the missionary that much of the success or failure of his mission will lie in his dealings with the men of the fort. Alder was taking preventative measures in the hopes that he would not have to deal with complaints from Simpson about the behaviour of his missionaries; however, in Alder's view, this camaraderie did not mean that the missionary should subordinate himself to the company.

It is important to consider why the HBC was interested in building relationships with missionaries, particularly with Methodist missionaries. What set the Methodists apart, and why was an evangelical group eventually sanctioned as missionaries? In 1837 the HBC was facing the need to renew their charter, and the London committee needed to extend an olive branch to those in Britain who were questioning the effects of the

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[35] See above, p. 11.

[36] Copy of instructions from Robert Alder to William Mason, 1840. James Evans Collection, fond F10, Victoria University Archives, University of Toronto.

company's monopoly. Many of the greatest critics of monopoly charters espoused the growth of the free trade market. Interestingly, many of these same supporters of free trade were also evangelical Christians.[37] Methodist missionaries in the territory would have, at the very least, appeased the moral sensibilities of these men enough that they could forgive the unnatural monopoly that the Company held. George Simpson knew the importance of this gesture, as he wrote

> with regard to the Wesleyans, we must study their comfort and do all in our power to promote the object of their mission to the country. You can have no idea of the popularity we have gained by patronizing this sect the most zealous well regulated and well conducted in England, and from every pulpit throughout the United Kingdom where their mission is established we have been spoken of in the most gratifying manner.[38]

Though the influence of evangelicalism in Britain undoubtedly affected the HBC's decision to admit Methodist missionaries into the country, there may have been more immediate reasons behind the decision.

Pragmatic reasons for the HBC's policy can be found with a deeper examination of the writings of George Simpson. The Anglicans and the Roman Catholics had been firmly rooted in Red River for over twenty years; consequently, Simpson was concerned with their growing power and influence. This concern held especially for the Roman Catholics who were already moving farther west, and had a strong congregation in the French Canadian labourers of the trade. By bringing in Methodists, from Britain, in small numbers Simpson had an indirect means of challenging the Roman Catholics'

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[37] Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 174-77.

[38] George Simpson to Donald Ross, 2 December 1840, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Donald Ross private and official HBC papers 1816 – 1877, AE R73 La5.

authority before they could begin to challenge his. Simpson had written to Donald Ross about his concerns at the start of the Methodist mission:

> It is absolutely necessary to proceed with great activity in establishing the Protestant faith otherwise the Roman Catholics will gain an ascendancy throughout the country, which may in due time prove as dangerous to the interests not only of the Company but of the whole fur trade.[39]

Simpson hoped that the Methodists would help challenge the rising authority of the Roman Catholics in the west, while at the same time, because of their small numbers, remain firmly under the thumb of the company. Frits Pannekoek has found evidence of this desire and argues that

> Simpson was certain that Evans would be securely in the Company's pocket. Dr Alder, the chief secretary of the WMMS, and Simpson's friend, assured Simpson that he would never permit Evans to run counter to the Company's dictates."[40]

What is clear is that the HBC believed it would remain firmly in charge of Rupert's Land and would exercise some form of control over the sanctioned missionaries that operated there.

Now that we have examined the general patterns of missionary/fur trader relationships we can move on to the specific case of Evans at Fort Michipicoten. After spending five years as the missionary and teacher at Rice Lake, Upper Canada, in the fall of 1838 James Evans was sent to investigate the possibility of extending the Methodist mission to the shores of Lake Superior. Evans along with fellow missionaries Thomas Hurlburt and Peter Jacobs, an Ojibwa missionary who accompanied Evans as a guide and

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[39] George Simpson to Donald Ross, 2 December 1840, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Donald Ross private and official HBC papers 1816 – 1877, AE R73 La5.

[40] Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance of 1869-70* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1991), p. 100.

interpreter,[41] arrived at Fort Michipicoten in the fall of 1838. Hurlburt continued on to Fort William while Evans remained on the north shore looking for opportunities to minister. After hearing that Roman Catholics were working at Sault Ste. Marie Evans made an unsuccessful attempt to leave Michipicoten in late October and early November; however, when this plan failed he resigned himself to wintering at Michipicoten. In the ensuing seven-month period of residence at the fort Evans seems to have built a strong relationship with the men of the post. He assisted in the provisioning of the post by hunting, fishing, and cutting wood, and he spent a great deal of time studying volumes from the library of HBC Chief Factor Dugald Cameron (c.1777-1857)[42] and in discussions with chief trader Nicol Finlayson (1795-1877). Evans began work on a comparative manuscript of the language and culture of native North Americans, which seems to have benefited greatly by his surroundings and the company he found in the fur trade post. The solitude of a winter in a remote post, the relative lack of Aboriginal people to convert, the resources from Cameron's library, and the companionship offered by him and Finlayson all helped Evans constellate his ideas about language, culture, and religion into a fifty-page document.

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[41] Jacobs's wife was also along on the trip, and gave birth to one of their children while staying at Fort Michipicoten, 7 January 1839. G. S. French, "Pahtahsega, (Peter Jacobs)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XI (1881-1890), George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, gen. eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 660-61.

[42] Cameron's personnel file with the HBC gives his date of birth as being circa 1777, though Simpson in his character book says that Cameron was about 58 years in 1832, making his date of birth 1774. See Simpson's Character Book in Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), p. 173; and HBCA, *Fur Trader Questionnaire, John Dugald Cameron.* There is also valuable biographical information provided in Jean Murray Cole, ed., *This Blessed Wilderness: Archibald McDonald's Letters from the Columbia, 1822-44* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001.

Fort Michipicoten

At a point where the north shore of Lake Superior, having left Whitefish Bay, takes a sharp turn westward the Michipicoten River cuts through the rock of the Canadian Shield. At this confluence a small, flat, sandy plain interrupts the lake and the steep broad-faced bank. This place was named Michipicoten, meaning 'the great bluff,[43] although, the name Meshebegwadoong seems also to have been commonly used.[44] Although in modern times the area is seen as Ojibwa territory Michipicoten's ownership in the nineteenth century was much more ambiguous. Michipicoten and Meshebegwadoong are both Algonquin words with Cree and Ojibwa roots, reflecting the mixed use of the territory. The Cree derivatives of the word Michipicoten can be broken into misi, meaning big, and pikohtin, meaning it falls.[45] The Ojibwa derivatives are similar: mitcha, meaning it is large, and bigwaan, meaning break.[46]

This duality of language and place name can be traced through the historical record. Reports of Alexander Henry the Elder, who spent the winter of 1767-1768 at

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[43] Alan Rayburn, *Dictionary of Canadian Place Names* (Toronto and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 247; G. A. Armstrong, *The Origin and Meaning of Place Names in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), p. 190; Captain W. F. Moore, *Indian Place Names in Ontario* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930), p. 32. In the *Dictionary of Canadian Place Names* Rayburn incorrectly reports that Michipicoten is solely an Ojibwa word when there seems to be some evidence of Cree derivation.

[44] William B. Hamilton, *The Macmillan Book of Canadian Place Names* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), p. 188. Hamilton reports that the name Michipicoten is "from an Algonquin tribe, Mishibigwadunk, whose name meant, 'place of bold promontories.'" There is no citation or reference to where this information comes from. A third naming possibility occurs in the report of Father Claude Dablon in the *Jesuit Relations.* In his report of 1669-1670 he wrote of "an Island, distant forty or fifty leagues [from the Soo] toward the North, opposite a spot called Missipicouatong." See Rueben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. 65* (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), pp. 153-59; as cited in Donald Chaput "Michipicoten Island: Ghosts, Copper and Bad Luck," *Ontario History,* vol. 61, no. 4 (1969), p. 217.

[45] Earle Waugh, ed., *Alberta Elders' Cree Dictionary* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998), pp. 87 and 172.

[46] See http://www.first-ojibwe.net/translations/weshki-ayaad/main_page.html; and Bishop Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Ojibwa Language* (Montreal: Beauchemin and Valois, 1880), pp. 253 and 78.

Michipicoten, describe the language of the local Aboriginals as being a "mixture of those of its neighbours, the Chipeways and Christinaux."[47] This same contention was argued by Duncan Cameron, the father of John Dugald Cameron, in his published papers of 1805. Cameron writes

> this part of the country has been peopled… partly from Lake Superior and partly from Hudson's Bay, as it would evidently appear from the language of the Natives, which is a mixture of the Ojiboiay, [sic] or Chippeway (Sauteux) [sic] as some call it, spoken at Lake Superior and the Cree or Masquigon [sic] spoken at Hudson's Bay.[48]

Cameron's belief in the combination of languages evident in areas of Lake Superior highlights the close connections between the two Algonquian languages in the early nineteenth century in the country between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. More recent academic studies have also problematized seeing the Michipicoten area as solely Ojibwa. In the 1970s Bishop and Smith argued "that at the time of contact… the Ojibwa resided no further west than Michipicoten Bay" and that the vast area "between Michipicoten Bay and the mouth of the Kaministikwia River [at modern day Thunder Bay, ON] – was occupied by the Cree."[49] Although Evans spent a winter in what is now seen as Ojibwa territory we must not conclude that its people's language was the only one he heard spoken that winter besides English. Rather we must consider the possibility that language

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[47] Henry, *Travels & Adventures In Canada,* p. 208. At the time of Henry's travels Christinaux was a common referral to the Cree people.

[48] L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, Récits de voyages, Lettres et Rapports inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien* (Quebec: de l'Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Co., 1890), p. 241. In an entry titled "Mr. Duncan Cameron: The Nipigon Country, 1804, with extracts from his journal," a description of the territory which encompassed this mixed language was explained as being bordered on the east by Trout Lake (near Nipissing), on the south by Lake Superior, on the north by Hudson Bay, and on the west by Lake Winnipeg and the Hayes River.

[49] Charles A. Bishop and M. Estellie Smith, "Early Historic Populations in Northwestern Ontario: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Interpretations," *American Antiquity,* vol. 40, no. 1 (1975), p. 56.

bridges existed between the two variants of the Algonquin languages, and that Evans was exposed to Cree well before he arrived at Norway House in 1840.

It was at the mouth of the Michipicoten River that French fur traders first established a post in 1714.[50] The early establishment of Fort Michipicoten was due to the post's strategic geographical location on Lake Superior. The post lay at a mid-way point between Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William. It served an important requisitioning function for the North West Company (NWC) traders pushing into the west from Montreal. The NWC policy of 'les postes du nord' placed a trade post at the mouth of every river emptying into Lake Superior drawing furs out of the interior to make collection easier at the lakeside depots.[51] By the late eighteenth century competition prompted the HBC to begin its push inland where it established a number of posts in direct competition with the NWC, one of which was built at Michipicoten in 1797. The post soon gained prominence as the southern depot of the Moose-Michipicoten trade route; siphoning furs north to Hudson Bay via the Missinaibi river system to Moose Factory on James Bay.[52] The beneficial geographic attributes of the area further increased competition, with the HBC post on the north bank of the river directing trade up to the Bay, and the NWC on the south bank, pulling trade toward Montreal.[53]

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[50] *National Atlas of Canada,* "Posts of the Canadian Fur Trade, 1600 to 1870" (Ottawa: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 79-80.

[51] Michael Shchepanek, "Trading Posts of the Moose-Michipicoten Trade Route," *Canadian Geographical Journal,* vol. 82, no. 2 (1971), p. 67.

[52] Shchepanek, "Trading Posts of the Moose-Michipicoten Trade Route," p. 67; David Skene Melvin, ed., *Three Heritage Studies on the History of the HBC Michipicoten Post and on the Archaeology of the North Pickering area, Heritage Study 5, Archaeological Research Report No. 14,* (Toronto: Historical Planning and Research Branch, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1980), p. 9.

[53] Melvin, *Three Heritage Studies,* p. 9. The river route that the HBC established went upstream on the Michipicoten then portaged into a series of lakes that led, eventually, down the Abitibi River to Moose

Following the amalgamation of the fur trading companies in 1821 the HBC moved its operations across the inlet to the NWC post, where it remained operating until the post was closed in 1904.

Fort Michipicoten was located in the Lake Superior District of the Southern Department, replacing Fort William as the headquarters for that district in 1827.[54] This undoubtedly made Fort Michipicoten an exceptional post, one where a larger number of men and materials moved through on their way to the country farther inland. The impact of such a geographically significant position would have resulted in Evans's gaining a greater exposure to more reading material from the company library than he would have had at another, more remote post. Michipicoten therefore necessarily impinges on the creation process of Evans's workbook.

By being on a major corridor leading to and from the Bay the post would have benefited in being the first to receive the latest scientific reports from England. Michipicoten was only three weeks' journey by canoe from Moose Factory, which was in turn only a few months' travel from London.[55] It was also only a few weeks' travel from the extremities of Upper Canada.[56] This proximity meant that books could pass quickly from the printer's press in London or New York to the trader's library on Lake Superior. In fact there are instances when Evans uses sources of very recent publication. For

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Factory. See *National Atlas of Canada,* pp. 79-80; Frank Ridley, "The Lake Superior Site at Michipicoten," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* vol. 31, no. 4 (1961), p. 131.

[54] Melvin, *Three Heritage Studies,* pp. 9-11.

[55] The distance from Michipicoten to Moose Factory is estimated at 325 miles, and is reported to have taken three weeks to traverse. See Shchepanek, "Trading Posts of the Moose-Michipicoten trade route," p. 66.

[56] The most direct route connecting to the provinces of Canada was via the Ottawa and Abitibi rivers, and is reported to have taken slightly over a month. See Shchepanek, "Trading Posts of the Moose-Michipicoten trade route," p. 67.

example, he cites a letter written by Don Juan Galindo in volume two of *Archaeologia Americana,* which was published in 1836, but had already made its way to Cameron's library at Michipicoten.[57] The arrival of books quickly in the west can be seen in Beattie's bibliography, as she traces both publication dates, and the dates when the owner of the book inscribed it. What is seen when these numbers are compared is that books were arriving in Rupert's Land often within a year of being published.[58] Such an ease of transport to the post at Michipicoten might also explain the large collection of books that John Dugald Cameron had managed to amass during his career.

Chief factor Cameron's library is written about extensively in James Evans's workbook. The importance of the library in fur trade life has been investigated in a number of important works.[59] The ability to read, though not widespread elsewhere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was common in the fur trade, as reading became a major leisure activity. Payne and Thomas argue that early libraries were highly functional in that they included "very little frivolous material," and instead focussed on "works of astronomy, philosophy, language, medicine and other serious scientific

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[57] James Evans, Workbook, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file VIII, p. 2. In the next section the issue of fur trade libraries and their abilities to receive books close to the time of their publication will be discussed at length.

[58] There are a number of examples in the list compiled by Beattie. For once case see the entry for Angus Mackay where a book published in 1845 is inscribed with the year 1846 by Mackay. See Judith Hudson Beattie, "'My Best Friend': Evidence of the Fur Trade Libraries Located in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives," *Epilogue,* vol. 8, no. 1 (1993), pp. 16-32.

[59] For detailed examinations of fur trade libraries see: Michael Payne and Gregory Thomas, "Literacy, Literature and Libraries in the Fur Trade," *The Beaver,* vol. 44 (1983), pp. 44-53; Fiona Black, "Beyond Boundaries: Books in the Canadian Northwest," Bill Bell, Philip Bennett and Jonquil Bevan, eds., *Across Boundaries, The Book in Culture and Commerce* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 2000), pp. 91-115; Beattie, "'My Best Friend': Evidence of the Fur Trade Libraries," pp. 1-32. For a good account of books available in Canada in the nineteenth century see: Mark C. Bartlett, Fiona A. Black, and Bertrum H. MacDonald, *The History of the Book in Canada: A Bibliography* (Halifax: Bertrum H. MacDonald, 1993).

subjects."[60] The importance of these mainly scientific endeavours was largely based in economics, as these were all topics important to the trade: language learning was important because it bore on the conduct of trade with Aboriginal groups; medicine was important to survival in the isolated wilderness. In the earliest days the access to books was restricted to the elite of the fur trade; however, as Payne and Thomas point out, the largely Orkney population in the trade were almost uniformly literate.[61] After the amalgamation in 1821 libraries were established at posts throughout the country, loaning books to even the most remote posts; thereby, reading became more accessible to more men in the trade.[62] As a result most men in the trade were quite well read, despite their social standing. Moreover, they had, as Evans observed, a vast supply of the other essential ingredient for reading: time.[63] Writing to his wife, he described the men of the country as "almost universally well-read, having indeed very little to do but study, or rather to read, for it is rather a pastime than a task."[64]

The variety of works housed in these fur trade libraries is intriguing. Judith Hudson Beattie has compiled an extensive bibliography of the works that are still held by the HBC Archives, and a quick scan of this list reveals books collectively on a wide

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[60] Payne and Thomas, "Literacy, Literature and Libraries in the Fur Trade," p. 45. Although Payne and Thomas do not provide a clear definition of what would have been considered frivolous they do imply that frivolous material would not be found in post libraries. Thus, "only the odd work of poetry or comic play interrupts the list of works on astronomy, philosophy, language, medicine and other such serious works." Payne and Thomas later point out that this did not mean that 'frivolous' material, such as Chap books and novels did not find their way into the country, but more likely these materials were privately owned, or used until they fell apart, and thus did not survive.

[61] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[62] Ibid., p. 47.

[63] Ibid., p. 47.

[64] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

spectrum of topics including popular amusements, navigation, geometry, rhetoric, astronomy, history, poetry, as well as midwifery and gonorrhoea. A number of language books on learning French and Spanish are in the collection; as well, it contains bibles, and journals of other fur traders, which were copied and sent to other posts.[65] The earliest publication date in the collection is 1662, although a vast number have no known publication date, but appear to be very early publications. The largest portion of the HBCA collection consists of dozens of volumes from the personal library of Peter Fidler, including the above-mentioned book from 1662. This preponderance of one reader's collection reveals the important role that personal libraries played in the fur trade. As we have seen in Evans's case, personal libraries were customary among high-ranking men such as John Dugald Cameron. The contents of these libraries are more difficult to ascertain, but documents such as Evans's workbook help us to see what formed a part of these collections.

What also becomes evident in looking at Beattie's list of books held by HBC men is the large number of religious and scriptural texts that formed part of their reading materials. The titles reveal a large contingent of evangelical material.[66] One interesting point of note that emerges from this list is that the chief factor at Michipicoten prior to and following Cameron owned literature that was evangelical in nature. George Keith (1779-1859) was chief factor at Michipicoten from 1831 until 1836 and resumed his

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[65] For example see the Harmon journal that Evans has access to in Michipicoten.

[66] Cited in this article are the following works that are written by known evangelicals: John Wesley, *A Survey of the Wisdom of God* (Bristol: William Pine, 1770) [this item appears twice]; Hugh Blair, *Sermons* (London: A. Strahan, 1798-1803); William Chambers, *Information for the People*; *The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East: Twenty-First Year, 1820-21* (London: CMS, 1821) [this item appears twice].

duties there with Cameron's departure in 1839.[67] Keith is noted in Beattie's list as being the owner of volumes one through five of Hugh Blair's *Sermons*. A moderate evangelical Presbyterian, Blair "emphasized individual responsibility for sin and salvation."[68] Blair's ideas were also very influential on Canadian Methodism; for example, Egerton Ryerson included Blair's work in the first curriculum of Victoria College at Cobourg.[69] The chances that Keith left his copy of *Sermons* at Michipicoten when he departed the post are remote. However, the ideas from these books would have left their mark on the post long after the volumes were gone. A number of men appearing in the account books in 1836 remain in the account books in 1839.[70] The possibility that evangelical material at Michipicoten influenced the ideas and attitudes of the men who worked there is heightened due to its inclusion in the chief factor's library. Evidence of what remained at the post is difficult as is ascertaining the contents of the library of Cameron, Evans's companion and host for the winter. By considering the men who did winter at Fort Michipicoten in 1838-1839 we can more fully see the how a number of factors influenced life at the post.

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[67] Jennifer Brown, "Keith, George," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. VIII (1851-1860), George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, gen. eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 453-54.

[68] Michael Gauvreau, "The Empire of Evangelicalism: Varieties of Common Sense in Scotland, Canada, and the United States," *Evangelicalism Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, Mark Noll, David Bebbington, and George Rawlyk, eds. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 230.

[69] Ibid., p. 230.

[70] HBCA, B.129/d/2, Fort Michipicoten Account Books.

The Personnel of Fort Michipicoten

The chief factor at Fort Michipicoten in the winter of 1838-1839 was John Dugald Cameron, a man with a long and illustrious career in the fur trade. Cameron was born in Canada and entered the trade in 1795 with the NWC. He first worked as a clerk in the Nipigon District around Lake of the Woods; by 1811 he was in charge of the Lake Winnipeg District, and by 1813 he was promoted to partner. During the times of conflict prior to amalgamation he was in charge of the NWC posts in the Ile-á-la-Crosse area. Following amalgamation Cameron was made chief factor of the Columbia District (1821-24), and Lac la Pluie (1824-32). Thereafter he served at the Fort Alexander headquarters (1832-34) before being appointed chief factor of the Lake Superior district (1836-39).[71] One point of interest is that Cameron permanently left Fort Michipicoten ten days after James Evans, on 29 May 1839. He was re-stationed at La Cloche in the Lake Huron District until ill health caused him to take a leave of absence in 1844. Cameron returned to Upper Canada and eventually retired from the company in 1846 to Grafton, Ontario, a small town just a few miles down the road from the Methodist epicentre of Cobourg.[72] One further point of exception is that Cameron "remain[ed] loyal to his Indian wife during a time of increasing racial prejudice"[73] by bringing her with him to Upper Canada when he retired. According to Van Kirk such loyalty was rare, and she makes an

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[71] The detailed information provided here comes from HBCA *Fur Trader Questionnaire, John Dugald Cameron.*

[72] Cobourg is often seen as the centre of Canadian Methodism due to Victoria College being located there. See Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion,* p. 96.

[73] Sylvia Van Kirk, "John Dugald Cameron," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. VIII (1851-1860), George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, gen. eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 121-22.

exceptional case of Cameron.[74] Cameron seems to have had a close relationship with the Ojibwa who lived near the post. His colleague Thomas McMurray reported to Governor Simpson that he knew

> Indian traders in the Country, who have gained the esteem, and confidence of the Natives, but none like our Friend, they completely confide in him, and his fair Promise is as sure a Pledge, to them, as Bales of Goods be, his human, and upright conduct, has attached the Natives to us, that all the fair Promises and temptations of our opponents, have no effect to detach them from us…[75]

This close connection to the local Aboriginal peoples may have been the result of Cameron's wife being Ojibwa, but there is no evidence that she was related to any of the people around the post.[76] However, an advantage was gained by this relationship as it clearly aided his ability in the Ojibwa language.[77]

What is most prominent in reports of John Dugald Cameron is his interest in reading; Evans's description of the volume of his personal library was not overstated. Cameron's bibliophilism was clearly noted by George Simpson in 1832 when describing Cameron in his character book: he had "read almost every [b]ook that ever came within his reach."[78] In view of the contents of his library, which included the most up-to-date scientific journals, Cameron was clearly a very well read man. But, like Evans, Cameron

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[74] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties,* pp. 50-52, and pp. 124-25.

[75] Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* p. 173, *n.* 3.

[76] Ibid., p. 173, *n.* 3.

[77] Ibid., p. 173. In his *Character Book* Simpson reports that Cameron "speaks Saulteaux well". This is likely a reference to Cameron speaking Ojibwa as French traders referred to Ojibwa people as Saulteaux or Saulteurs. In reporting on the inhabitants of Michipicoten in 1670 the Jesuit Father Claude Dablon reported, "the principal and native Inhabitants of this district are those who call themselves Pahouitingwach Irini, and whom the French call Saulteurs…" See Edna Kenton, ed., *The Indians of North America, from "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791."* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), p. 196. See also Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario,* p. 2, *n.* 1, and p. 5.

[78] Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670-1870,* p. 173.

was not simply a rationalist; he also had strong connections to popular evangelical beliefs.

Cameron was no stranger to the evangelical beliefs that Evans would have espoused. Evans reports that Cameron was an Episcopalian,[79] but that Cameron's son, James Dugald Cameron, was a Baptist minister who was fluent in Ojibwa.[80] Chief Factor Cameron's religious beliefs may have been an important factor, but there is no evidence that he had a particularly evangelical bent, although evangelicalism was spawned out of the Church of England. Evans reports that Cameron was not closed to evangelical ideas, as he was "altogether free from the narrow souled & abominable sprit of bigotry which unfortunately exists in Canada."[81]

Another important trader at Michipicoten during Evans's winter there was Nicol Finlayson. Finlayson was the only other HBC man who garnered much attention in Evans's correspondence and journal during the winter of 1838-39. Nicol Finlayson was born in Ross-shire, Scotland in 1795 and joined the HBC as a clerk at age twenty in 1815.[82] He was employed in a number of junior positions before being appointed the

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[79] Evans to Eprhaim Evans, 9 February 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 73.

[80] Evans reports in a letter to Rev. Joseph Stinson that James Cameron had established a Baptist mission about 100 miles from Michipicoten. Evans to Rev. Joseph Stinson, 20 August 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 68. James Cameron returned to Michipicoten on 24 July nearly two months after his father had departed the post. New Chief Factor George Keith reports in the post journal on 28 July 1839 "service was performed in the Indian language today by the Revd. J. D. Cameron (Baptist Clergyman)." See HBCA, B.129/a/20, Michipicoten Post Journal, 1839-1840, 28 July 1839.

[81] Evans to Eprhaim Evans, 9 February 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 73.

[82] Alice M. Johnson, "Finlayson, Nicol," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. X (1871-1880), George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, gen. eds. (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 284. Finlayson was the brother of Duncan Finlayson who in 1838 was married to Isobel Ramsay, the sister of Frances, Simpson's bride. Both Finlaysons seem to have been important players in fur trade life in 1839 as Duncan was appointed governor of Assiniboia and Nicol was put in

chief trader at Fort Chimo in the Ungava district in 1830, where he served until 1836. After a brief furlough Finlayson arrived at Michipicoten in the fall of 1838 to serve as chief trader.[83] In Governor Simpson's character book of 1832 Finlayson is described as "a good Clerk and Trader [who] speaks Cree fluently."[84] In his journal, correspondence, and even in the workbook Evans writes about Finlayson highlighting a growing friendship between the two men. Within one week of his arrival Evans noted Finlayson in his journal: "Netting snowshoes. Kindly instructed by Mr. Finlayson."[85] In the workbook he comments that in his investigation of the Inuit he has been "informed by Mr. Finlayson who has resided on the North East Coast several years."[86] Evans reported to his brother Ephraim that Finlayson was a Presbyterian who was "endeavouring conscientiously to get to heaven."[87] Finlayson and Cameron were certainly a big influence on Evans. Near the end of his stay at Michipicoten he writes to his wife that

> I have had most excellent society. Mr. Cameron and Mr. Finlayson are most gentlemanly & intelligent men, thoroughly well read in history & in Science and

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charge of York Factory while James Hargrave was on furlough. See Williams, *Hudson's Bay Miscellany*, p. 186; and Michael Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory*, p. 26.

[83] HBCA B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal, 1838-1839, 8 October 1838. "Mr. Finlayson arrived from Moose, there is a man come with him for Boat Builder, also two young Boys as apprentice Labourers the sons of Mr. John Spencer who are to pass the winter here." There is an important point to consider here as Jennifer Brown notes that John Spencer had a country marriage with a local woman while he was chief factor at Moose Factory; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, p. 140. Thus there is a possibility that the sons that were sent to Michipicoten in 1838 were of mixed European and Cree ancestry, and at the very least exposed to the Cree language. For discussion on the Cree people living near Moose Factory see Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, *Partners in Fur: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay 1600-1870* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1983), p. 11.

[84] Williams, *Hudson's Bay Miscellany*, p. 207. There is no mention of Finlayson speaking any northern languages, but this record was prepared quite soon after his arrival at Fort Chimo.

[85] Evans's diary, 10 December 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 258b.

[86] Evans, Workbook, p. 16.

[87] Evans to Ephraim Evans, 9 February 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 73.

> not less well versed in scriptural truth, and what is better, are I believe endeavouring most sincerely to adorn the Gospel of Jesus Christ.[88]

The assistance that Evans gained from the men at the post would certainly not be out of the ordinary. In later times he found other willing participants in his linguistic studies at Norway House in Chief Factor Donald Ross and his wife.[89]

Although Cameron and Finlayson were the men who had the greatest impact on Evans they were certainly not the only men with whom he had contact. Although only commissioned men would have dined with Evans each night it is not erroneous to assume that he was in close contact with the lower ranking men of the post on a daily basis.[90] He reports back to his wife on the general character of the men of the fort that

> We are very apt to conclude that a class of men who have spent their days in the wilderness among savages must be very deficient in general information, and partake to a large degree of the character of those with whom they transact business, and to conclude that in entering the Indian country, we are leaving all civilization – but I can tell you for encouragement that the Gentlemen of the Company are not a whit inferior manners, morals, nor intelligence to any class of men in Upper Canada.[91]

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[88] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

[89] MacLean, *Life of James Evans,* p. 162.

[90] Several men appear frequently in the post journals. William Clouston (c. 1794 - ?) was the postmaster at Michipicoten during the winter of 1838-39. There is less known about Clouston, due to his rank in the company, but there is much written about his daily activities in the post journal. Clouston was an Orkney man and had been serving in the Lake Superior District since before the amalgamation. (See Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* p. 234.) Donald McIntosh (c. 1768-1845) was the mixed blood son of chief trader Donald McIntosh, who had served at Fort William since 1830. The post journal also mentions a number of other men who were at the post that winter but of whom there is little information. (See Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* p. 188.) Among them are: Jean Amable McKay, who acted as a guide; John McPherson, an interpreter; and David MacBeth, a cooper. Beyond the HBC men there were also a number of Aboriginal people named in the journal with whom Evans undoubtedly had contact. Their personal details are even more difficult to ascertain without extensive collection of oral traditions, a project that is beyond the resources and scope of this project.

[91] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

It is evident that Evans held a great deal of respect for his wintertime companions' intellect and learning.

What is surprising in an examination of the HBC post journal for Fort Michipicoten is the lack of reporting about Evans. In the period from when Evans arrived on 9 September until he left on 20 May the Methodist missionary and his companions are mentioned only twenty times.[92] Of these only five mention anything to do with the missionary's work; the majority refer to Evans or Jacobs fishing and performing other tasks around the fort. The HBC post journal was designed for a specific purpose, to report on the happenings of the economic and related social concerns of the operation of the fort and, thus, authorship is a relevant issue to consider in an examination of post journals. The author who kept the journal through the winter of 1838-39 was not interested in matters beyond what was expected of him and so he largely writes about the work being performed, the weather, and matters related to the amount of trade being conducted. However, the close connection that was felt for Evans is revealed in the entry announcing his departure from the fort: "Mr. Evans and his interpreter departed for Fort William. May God be with them and grant them his Holy Spirit in the good work they are going to."[93] Although the HBC journals generally say little about Evans's time at Michipicoten, this one entry reveals the close connections made through the winter and high regard held for him and his work.

On the matter of audience we must also consider that Evans was writing his own journal at the post that winter, and was doing so for a particular purpose. Reports from

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[92] Appendix 4 provides a list of the post journal entries on Evans and the Methodists at Fort Michipicoten.

[93] Post Journal, 19 May 1839, HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839.

missionaries were routinely sent back to Wesleyan Missionary Society, for publication in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*. Several accounts written by Evans were published in the *Notices*, and they largely reported on the activity of converting Aboriginal peoples and his development of language. The audience of this publication were interested in conversion and fighting the evils of popery and would not have been interested in the daily dealings Evans had with fort personnel. We must remain mindful of how this audience also impacted Evans's writing, as it concentrated on certain aspects of his recorded life in the west.

Despite the keen camaraderie that Evans eventually found at Michipicoten, it must be pointed out that he was not keen to remain at the post for the winter. The desire to not stay at the post played out in Evans's foolish attempt to make it back to Sault Ste. Marie by canoe in the early part of November 1838, an incident that nearly cost Evans and his two Aboriginal companions their lives.[94] Evans's desire to abandon Michipicoten issued from his knowledge that few Aboriginal people were present for him to work with there in the winter months.[95] The lack of Indigenous inhabitants at Michipicoten can be traced through a number of other historical reports, which highlighted that the area was sparsely populated. Alexander Henry wrote an account in 1767 that reported that

> within a few days… [he] had seen, or so [he] was informed, all the Indians of [that] quarter… [these] were comprised in no more than eighteen families; and even these, in summer, could not find food in the country, were it not for the fish in the streams and lakes.[96]

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[94] Evans's journal, 29 October through 19 November 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 258a.

[95] In a letter from earlier in the summer Evans reported this knowledge: "Mr. Nouse… informs us… [that the Lake Superior Ojibwa] are during the winter scattered on the mountains." Evans to Mary Evans, 20 August 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 67.

[96] Alexander Henry, *Travels & Adventures In Canada and the Indian Territories, Between the Years 1760 and 1776* (Toronto: George N. Morang & Company, Ltd., 1901), p. 209.

Food scarcity was common enough in the territory that in a previous winter John Dugald Cameron and his men were forced to eat the parchment window coverings to avoid starvation.[97] With such desolate conditions, it would be neither surprising that few Aboriginal people were interested in wintering in the area nor unexpected that Evans found few Aboriginal people around the post in the winter of 1838-39. Upon his departure, in a letter to his wife and daughter, Evans remarked that he had spent "a very pleasant winter, [as much as] the absence of Indians would admit."[98]

Interaction with the local Ojibwa was not impossible for Evans. Those Ojibwa who did winter near Fort Michipicoten are frequently reported in the post journal. A number of them are named in the daily reports working for the post or arriving to trade pelts. That several names appear repeatedly seems to signify that they were well known and had a long established rapport with the post. Among them were Green Bird, Green Bird's son, Shabwatic, and Tomeekee. These men and their families seem to have made up a home guard band as throughout the winter they are reported to be working on tasks for the post: fishing, hunting and attending the "sugar bush" to collect sap for making syrup.[99] Home guard bands often had family members who were married to men

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[97] L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, p. 245. Masson has added this information about John Dugald Cameron in a footnote to the journal of his father Duncan Cameron.

[98] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, box B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

[99] Post Journal, 6 July 1838, 15 December 1838, and 25 March 1839, HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839. Evans had also reported earlier of the presence of these home guard bands, stating that local traders referred to them as "Lake Indians." See Evans to Mary Evans, 20 August 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 67. For discussion on the roles played by and the importance of home guard bands see Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties, Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), pp. 25-26 and pp. 47-48.

working in the post. Although there is no evidence of country marriages or native women working within the walls of Fort Michipicoten there is evidence that there were kin connections.[100] A number of the local Aboriginal families made a prolonged stay in the fort over the New Year, lingering in the post until the festivities wound down on 3 January when Cameron reported that "Greenbird who past [sic] the new year here [had] gone off."[101] It was not an uncommon practice for members of extended families with kin contacts to men working in the fur trade post to spend a period of time with them over the short time that work was slowed for Christmas.[102] Evans undoubtedly had interactions with these families, for by February he had commenced teaching school at the fort.[103] Although he was not keen to remain at Fort Michipicoten, Evans soon discovered some advantages that came with being trapped there. It would not be a wasted winter, and in fact it would prove to be highly influential on his future work, in part, due to the companionship that he found at the post.

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[100] The exception to this is John Dugald Cameron's references to his own native wife, an Ojibwa woman.

[101] See Post Journal, 3 January 1839, HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839.

[102] Michael Payné, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory*, p. 89.

[103] Post Journal, 8 February 1839. HBCA, B.129/a/19, Michipicoten Post Journal 1838-1839. "Revd. Mr. Evans began to keep school."

Chapter Four – The Workbook

Evans considered the contents of his workbook as the beginning of a book that he intended to publish at some point. In his correspondence to his wife Mary he explained

> I have been preparing a work for future publication on the Character, Religion, superstitious traditions & general manner of the Indians as well as of the peculiar construction of the languages as compared with the Asiatics. This has been a subject which has required, and to which I have devoted, very close application, and I am ready to flatter myself that I can offer more rational & historical proof of the Transpacific origin of the Aborigines of America than has yet been collected & presented to the world at least in any one volume.[1]

The manuscript that Evans intended to publish never made it to press. How did a project that seemed so all encompassing and important to Evans in the winter of 1838-39 simply vanish from his view? Or did it? Evans reportedly had all of his papers burned before his departure from Norway House in 1846.[2] It is possible that a completed manuscript of the workbook may have been among them. However, in searching the seven years of journals and correspondence that Evans did not burn (spanning between 1839 and his death in 1846), one finds no indication that he continued with the project after leaving Michipicoten. This abrupt end to the project may have resulted from Evans's dependence on the contents of Cameron's library; once he was separated from the library he was separated from the sources that would help him complete the project. Another explanation involves the personnel at the post, as the camaraderie Evans experienced at Fort Michipicoten certainly would have encouraged his investigations. However, it is most likely that time became the greatest factor. Following his departure from Lake

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[1] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, box B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

[2] Evans's brother Ephraim reported in later life that all of James's papers were burned prior to his departure from Norway House on 29 June 1846, shortly after the conclusion of his trial on charges of misconduct with a number of local Native women. For a good discussion of the fall of Evans, his trial, and return to England, see Shirritt-Beaumont, "The Rossville Scandal, 1846."

Superior Evans returned to a new parish in Upper Canada at Guelph in the late summer of 1839. Within six months he was appointed superintendent of the western mission and was headed for Norway House. With many new challenges in front of him Evans may have never have found the time to go back to work on the workbook. He was wholly engaged by and then entangled in the western mission project and the workbook may simply have been set aside, to be worked on in idle time which never came. Evans's workbook was thus a product of his location as, while at Michipicoten, he enjoyed an unprecedented amount of leisure time. As we saw earlier, in a letter to his wife Mary Evans described the fur traders as "having indeed very little to do but study, or rather to read" during the long winter's residence.[3] In his winter at Michipicoten Evans gave himself the time to conduct research in Cameron's library and write a book because he had little else to do. Upon leaving the Fort Evans assumed his regular duties and, thus, had little time to continue with the project.

This chapter will examine both the form and content of Evans's workbook, and assess whether it achieves what Evans had hoped it would. Initially, Evans's writing in the workbook was prompted by a harsh and swift reaction to a published letter written by Don Juan Galindo, mentioned already, but over time his concern for correction may have moderated. With a new superintendency in 1840, and little time to take the manuscript further towards publication, the project may have simply faded from Evans's priorities.[4]

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[3] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

[4] By the time of his appointment as superintendent in 1840 Evans had at least four publications: *The First Nine Chapters of the First Book of Moses, Called Genesis, Tr. Into the Chippeway Tongue* (York: n.p., 1833); *NU-gu-mo-nun O-je-boa an-oad ge-ë-se-üu-ne-gu-noo-du-be-üng uoo Muun-gou-duuz [George Henry] gu-ea Moo-ge-gee-seg [James Evans] ge-ge-noo-ü-muu-ga-oe-ne-ne-oug* (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1837); *The Speller and Interpreter* (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1837); *A Collection of Chippeway*

Unlike at Michipicoten, in the west Evans was presented with thousands of Aboriginal people who he believed needed the word of God.[5] There was no time for publishing projects; there were too many souls to save. Whatever his reasons for abandoning the manuscript, what has survived in the archive presents the historian with a rich resource for study. With close examination we better understand western missionaries in general, Evans in particular, and the catalyst for his work on syllabics in fine.

Form – The Physical Character of the Workbook

The workbook is part of the James Evans collection held in the J. J. Talman Regional Collection of the D. B. Weldon Library at the University of Western Ontario (UWO). The Evans papers were acquired by UWO in 1927,[6] in part due to the connections that the Evans family maintained to London, Ontario.[7] The UWO collection includes a vast array of Evans's papers including letters, diaries, and an assortment of loose pages, many of which are written in the Cree and Ojibwa syllabic scripts.

The workbook, which is found in file eight of the collection, was examined during a research trip to UWO in February 2003. It is a collation of thirty-two sheets forming

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and English Hymns for the use of the Native Indians (Toronto: Methodist Conference, 1840). Evans is also known to have published a number of accounts in missionary journals of the day. One example is: "Mission tour of Lake Huron" *Christian Guardian,* 28 September 1836 and 2 November 1836, reprinted as "1836 mission tour of Lake Huron" (Manitoulin Historical Society, 1955).

[5] Evidence of Evans's reaction to his new and vast territory is revealed in the amount of travel he did once he was appointed superintendent. Of the first 823 days of his superintendency, after his initial arrival at Norway House in the fall of 1840, Evans spent 635 away and 188 at his posting. This schedule caused such a problem that eventually Mason was sent in to watch over Norway House while Evans was away.

[6] Fred Landon, "Selections from the Papers of James Evans, Missionary to the Indians," Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records,* vol. 26 (1930), p. 2; Fred Landon, "Letters of Rev. James Evans, Methodist Missionary, written during his Journey to and Residence in the Lake Superior Region, 1838-1839," Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records,* vol. 28 (1932).

[7] Evans himself had been ordained at London; his daughter Clarissa and son-in-law John McLean lived in the community for a number of years.

sixty-four pages, of which forty-nine have text written on them. Thirty-two sheets of large unlined paper 32 by 39 cm are folded to half size and sewn through the centre in two places with white thread. The document is almost entirely written in ink, although in a few places Evans returned to make corrections in pencil.[8] The condition of the document is generally good. The ink on paper is relatively legible in most places, although a number of the pages that have become loose are damaged on the edges, in some cases hindering transcription. As well a number of pages have damage caused by tape being applied to secure notes that Evans inserted in his text; however, these particular pages are not damaged to the point where they are illegible. A number of the pages have become loose over the years and many have, until recently, been separated from their original place in the workbook.[9] The written content on these loose pages is uniform both recto and verso. There are a total of fifteen blank pages in the document.[10] The existence of blank pages highlights the incompleteness of the manuscript, as Evans would most certainly have filled every page of the valuable paper had he had the opportunity.

Reverend Dr. Gerald Hutchinson, during a research trip to UWO in 1998, began to piece together the pages of the workbook and was the first to realize that the many parts comprised a whole work. The Evans files were microfilmed in the early 1980s.

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[8] The best example of this correcting is found on page 17 of the workbook. It should be noted that for the purposes of the study's citations the original or actual page numbers for the workbook are provided; that is, no re-numbering has been introduced.

[9] All pages are intact up to page 15 at which point they sporadically become loose. The loose pages are: pp. 16-18, p. 34, and pp. 51-54.

[10] The blank pages run from pages 9 to 14, and pages 55 to 63. In the attached appendix I I have marked these blank page numbers at the places where they occur.

However, a comparison of the re-assembled workbook with the microfilm reveals the haphazard way in which the collation and microfilming occurred. The resulting incorrect pagination is easily detectable by the reader when reading the microfilm for content, but remains firmly established due to the permanency of the film.[11] This defect in pagination was corrected recently by a re-ordering of the archived file, completed under the supervision of Rev. Dr. Hutchinson.

Even with Hutchinson's re-ordering, portions of the manuscript at first glance seem out of place. All points of disjointed content have been checked, and as a result it was found that none of these were loose sheets. The change in content is therefore that of Evans, and not of researchers misplacing pages within the files. Evidence that Evans was the author of these incoherencies is found in pages thirty-seven and thirty-eight. When judged by content, page thirty-seven appears to be misplaced. The first and last sentences do not match up to those that precede or follow them. However, it comprises one half of a larger sheet of paper, which is physically bound to the next. Further evidence that Evans made this incoherent ordering at the bottom of page thirty-eight is available. At that point he mentions "the bountiful provision which was made by Abraham for his three guests" and ends the page with "see preceding page."[12] This connection is proven by Evans's passage on page thirty-seven: "Abraham set a whole calf before them…."[13]

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[11] The best example of this mis-ordering can be seen at what would be page 23-25 of the file (for the reorganized pages see pp. 180-82 of Appendix 1). Page 24 contains the heading "Section 1st [?] Remarks: Eskimaux," but on the microfilm this page appears as the second page in the sequence. The page preceding clearly is the second page of this exposition, and the third page is appropriately placed. The mis-ordering of these particular pages is a curiosity since they are attached to the rest of the document.

[12] Evans, Workbook, p. 38.

[13] Ibid., p. 37.

Disjointed passages that occur in the transcription which are not those of Evans have been noted in the transcription (Appendix 1). It is important to consider the form of the workbook: Evans was jotting notes and writing preliminary passages. The preliminary nature of the document is evident in the fact that many pages remained blank. At a time when paper was at a premium, and men were prone to verbosity, Evans left fifteen pages blank. A longer if not a more complete manuscript could have resulted had he had the time to fill those pages.

On Transcription

The transcription attached as Appendix 1 was constructed from two different sources. My initial exposure to the document occurred through a previously transcribed version made by Hutchinson in the late 1990s. For this thesis the original document was consulted and a second transcription completed from colour photocopies obtained from UWO. The transcription was then compared with Hutchinson's. The process of re-transcription revealed a number of interesting aspects of transcription and highlighted the need for comparative work at the transcription stage.[14] This comparison revealed strengths and weaknesses in both transcriptions and thus I believe that the version that is presented here, subsequent to the first two, is authoritative.

That being said, there are some limitations to it. Evans, in his quest for the perfect characters to represent syllabics, investigates Greek and Hebrew. These are both languages of which I have little knowledge; thus I have consulted a knowledgeable

[14] Elizabeth Tonkin describes this as the "defect of transcriptions." Tonkin argues that transcription is an interpretive process to which different authors add different layers of meaning. See Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating our Pasts, The social construction of oral history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 90.

colleague in order to verify that the characters, as presented, are the characters that Evans intended. Translation of the meaning of these characters usually follows in the text of the document as translated by Evans; where this has not occurred I have offered a translation. Another limitation exists due to the scope of Evans's project. I am not a scholar of the history of India, China, or Korea and so in transcribing some of Evans's passages about these places and people I often came upon terms and place names that were unfamiliar. I have both endeavoured to ensure that unknown words are properly transcribed and, where possible, have verified their correct spelling and usage. (Scholars with a greater interest in the histories of these subjects may find errors where I know none to exist.)

Great effort has been devoted to maintaining the integrity of the document by including passages that were crossed out, attempting to transcribe even the most difficult handwriting, and maintaining the original pagination. A number of pages that were left blank by Evans have been compressed onto one page. I have attempted to maintain Evans's original spellings of words, except where meaning is uncertain. Punctuation has been added where Evans's intent is unclear. In checking Evans's citation I have found that there are many instances of misquotation. I have retained Evans's original transcription of this material although I have, where necessary, corrected spelling errors. This correction becomes most important in Evans's usage of the *Asiatick Researches* as Evans was unfamiliar with many of the Indian terms that he was encountering.[15] Notations have been made where major changes occur, and where there are points of interest. Although great pains have been taken to provide an accurate transcription, it is

[15] It is important to point out my usage of the term Indian. When not appearing in quotation marks it is referring to people from India. I will use the proper Indigenous cultural names, such as Ojibwa, to refer to Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

important to remember that there are certain aspects of the document that transcription cannot capture. Chief of these is a change in handwriting that occurs toward the end of the document. In the transcription in Appendix 1 this change has been marked by a change in font. Passages written in what has been confirmed as Evans's handwriting are in Ariel font, while those in the mystery hand are presented in Times New Roman.

The change in handwriting in the workbook can be investigated in a number of ways.[16] A simple explanation is that Evans adjusted his handwriting throughout the document.[17] Hutchinson explains this adjustment as a sign of the strong intellectual capabilities of Evans and his interest in the form of scripts, that since Evans was developing syllabics, he was highly aware of and able to create a different hand writing of his own will. Such a claim could be substantiated by a close examination of the workbook. Hutchinson focuses on the change in handwriting as it occurs within the stream of thought. On page 48 Evans's handwriting changes within the word according: "...the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great who, *according* to some historians..."[18] However, it is difficult to imagine that someone could change his writing drastically, or that, having changed it in order to lay emphasis on a single word, such as "according," he would maintain the alteration rather than resuming his first hand. A second explanation would be that Evans had an accomplice in assembling his workbook at Michipicoten. I have investigated this possibility thoroughly, but have, as yet, found no evidence that anyone else's hand touched the page. An investigation was completed by compiling the servant list from Michipicoten and

[16] For examples of this change in handwriting see Appendix 5.

[17] This idea is one presented to me by Gerald Hutchinson in a personal conversation in the spring of 2002.

[18] Evans, Workbook, p. 48.

using it to trace the careers of a number of men who wintered at the post in 1838-39. HBC records were then consulted to look for similarities in handwriting appearing at different posts. The records for Fort Chimo, where Nicol Finlayson had spent six years, were examined, as were the post records for Fort Frances and Fort Alexander, where John Dugald Cameron spent a number of years. This approach has, as yet, turned up nothing. No handwriting from other sources matches the altered hand in Evans's workbook.

Content – An Analysis of Evans's Writing

Evans's workbook is a composition on the universality of human kind. This section of the chapter will examine the general content of it and set out some guidelines for further study in the following chapter. Evans designed the workbook as a response to Don Juan Galindo's "anti-scriptural"[19] ideas as presented in *Archaeologia Americana,* and in defence of the "universal population of the globe."[20] Evans quickly established his thesis "that the Indians are the descendants of the Asiatic Nations."[21] The resulting study provides an important view into the mind of the evangelical missionary and his need to balance the universal with the particular.[22] Evans points out the strange customs of Indigenous populations from across the globe, but simultaneously draws comparisons and finds similarities so that he might prove that all of his subjects are "the scattered sons of Adam."[23] In a number of instances throughout the workbook we can see Evans dealing

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[19] Evans, Workbook, p. 5.

[20] Ibid., p. 1.

[21] Ibid., p. 1.

[22] Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 109.

[23] Evans, Workbook, p. 1.

with this tension between the universal and particular. The pattern that issues from the workbook shows Evans to be a resolute monogenist.

A Response to Galindo

The opening pages of Evans's workbook display his initial reaction to an article he read in the *Archaeologia Americana.* The first six pages were written in a bluster, Evans's ideas streaming forth in opposition to the *offending* material, a letter written by Colonel Don Juan Galindo, the Spanish governor of the province of Peten in what is today Guatemala. The letter by Don Juan Galindo argues that "The Indian human race of America… [is] the most ancient on the globe."[24] This was a startling argument to Evans and one that spurred him to prove just how wrong he believed Galindo was. Galindo was arguing for a reversal of the belief that the inhabitants of America were the sons of Adam. He posited instead that it was possible that humanity began in America. Throughout the workbook Evans makes a case to oppose Galindo, and to support scripture; in doing so he makes an equally important case for missionaries to study languages and to develop printable scripts to spread the gospel.

In writing the workbook Evans takes particular exception to Galindo's claim that

> The Indian human race of America, I must assert, to be the most ancient on the globe. However, the white race, led by a foolish vanity, may assume to be the progenitors of the human family, it is probably that at a very recent epoch it has issued from the region of the Caucasus, inundating Europe, extending itself over America, and with the energy of its youth and talent now invading Asia and Africa. The Indian race on the contrary has arrived at a decrepit old age; it has passed through the stages of youth, manhood and even decay… the Indian race is in the last centuries of its existence, and must soon disappear from the earth.[25]

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[24] Don Juan Galindo, "The Ruins of Copan, in Central America," *Archaeologia Americana, vol. 2* (Cambridge: American Antiquarian Society, 1836) [reprint New York: Johnson, 1971].

[25] Evans, Workbook, p. 2.

What we must do is consider why this statement, and why seeing the Aboriginal people as a dying race, was unacceptable to Evans. In doing so we can see two key aspects of Evans's character: the evangelical belief in the supremacy of the scriptures, and a strong confidence in science.

Evans's aversion to Galindo's thesis centred on its anti-scriptural character. Any notion of American Aboriginals as the progenitors of humanity contradicted the belief that all men were the descendants of Noah.[26] Evangelicals, and indeed most Christians of the nineteenth century, held to the view that the earth had to be populated from Asia to America, since, geographically, only thus could Noah's sons have physically spread out from the Levant. Evans asserts that false conclusions are drawn when the scriptures are ignored:

> many search into science and dive into hidden mysteries and, in the dark grope their way half bewildered until they perhaps accidentally fall upon some object which directs them to that beam which is emitted from the Source of Light, and when by that they are enabled to discover at length with clearness, what they before sought in vain they rejoice that they have made a discovery which corroborates the truth of Revelation, when in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, they are indebted to Revelation for the discovery.[27]

Evans proclaimed that the recent 'discoveries' of new cultures did not cast doubt on the Christian scriptural base of the world, but rather it built a case for the Bible: "the opening of the Hindoo literature, instead, as so many anticipated, of throwing a gloom over the Sacred Annals, tends to establish their authenticity."[28] Evans's statement highlights how

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[26] Samson, "Ethnology and Theology," p. 109.

[27] Evans, Workbook, p. 5.

[28] Evans, Workbook, p. 5.

evangelicals often "invested [science with] religious meaning."[29] Science was acceptable to evangelicals as long as it worked in concert with the Bible. Any scientific argument that directly challenged the teachings of the Bible, as Evans believed Galindo's argument did, was simply wrong.

The second issue Evans had with Galindo's statement was that it was un-scientific. This reaction may seem difficult to align with the scriptural approach he first argued for, but for an early Victorian evangelical such a line of reasoning was not difficult to follow. Evans's response showed that even when attacking science as a false God, one had to utilize scientific method. Evans dismantled Galindo's case, pointing to the "false reasoning" behind Galindo's argument that China would be the next civilization to die out.[30] Evans pointed to the fields of history, geology, and astronomy, and challenged Galindo to present hard evidence to prove his theory of American antiquity:

> Have the Indian race any traditions of their 'indefinite antiquity'[?] [C]ertainly they have not: a few centuries cover their traditions respecting their civilization even in the most enlightened part of the continent. Do their monuments, their sculpture, or their paintings prove an indefinite antiquity? Certainly they do not.[31]

Evans's insistence that Galindo present hard evidence and utilize a scientific method was not without reason. Later in this chapter we will see Evans's own method, and find a number of examples of how scientific his work was.

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[29] John Hedley Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 16: Brooke importantly points out that a challenge for modern historians is to understand the blurred boundaries that early Victorians saw between science and religion. He argues that we cannot impose our views of the strict divide between spiritual and scientific: as "sophisticated twentieth-century distinctions may not always be the most sensitive instruments for understanding the issues as they were formulated in the past" (p. 17).

[30] Ibid., p. 3.

[31] Ibid., p. 6.

Evans's beliefs in science and the Bible anchored his challenge of Galindo, but he also provided insight into why he thought Galindo had made such egregious errors. In the course of his swift rebuttal he pointed out that Galindo had failed to see the important role that the Spanish government played in the degeneration of the Indigenous peoples of Spanish America. He presented sources to highlight the brutality of the Spanish regime, one from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and a second from the reports of Bartholomew de las Casas.[32] Evans sees Galindo's "Inquisitional countrymen," the "Christian barbarians," as being a catalyst for the degeneration that is described.[33] This anti-Catholic statement would not be an uncommon sentiment for a Methodist missionary, especially one who had participated in a heated competition for souls with Roman Catholic priests. In the months leading up to his winter at Michipicoten, Evans's mission was challenged by the Roman Catholic priests travelling Lake Superior. Evans complained in a letter to Rev. Joseph Stinson

> [w]e are decidedly late for Lake Superior and I therefore leave this day for the Sault… we ought to have started in April or May. I have learned that had we gone last year the ground from the Sault to the Red River was unoccupied, now the Catholics have been through.[34]

Evans even went so far as to meet secretly with the Church of England's Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries at Sault Ste. Marie and discuss a plan "to unite

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[32] Evans, Workbook, p. 3. Evans quotes from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "Undoubtedly these inhuman soldiers frequently shed blood without even an apparent motive; and certainly their frantic missionaries did not oppose these barbarities as they ought to have done. All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were ill fed; they had no wages given them, and services were required of them under which the most robust men would have sunk" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. XIII*, p. 784).

[33] Evans, Workbook, pp. 2-3.

[34] Evans to Rev. Joseph Stinson, 4 August 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 66.

as far as consistent in restraining the influence of the Rom. Cath."[35] The Roman church was clearly the enemy, and extraordinary measures were to be taken to undermine it. Evans saw Galindo as under the influence of Roman Catholicism and his "Inquisitional countrymen," and so he regarded the Spaniard as ill qualified for saving the souls of Central Americans. Evans gives the impression that Galindo's argument results from not following the true word of God as it was found in the scriptures; thus, any conjecture Galindo advanced was prone to error.

There may be other implicit reasons why Evans so harshly rejected Galindo's thesis. One centres on Galindo's notion of the Aboriginal as a dying race. Although later Victorian attitudes would have agreed with Galindo,[36] to evangelicals of Evans's time, this would have been to admit defeat and failure in their millennial aspirations. All men were to be brought to the word of God to bring on the second coming of Christ; to simply accept that some of these men might be a dying race would have been to accept that their fates were sealed, and that there was little that could be done.[37] Methodists like Evans believed that everything must be done to bring the word of God to all people, whether they were a dying race or not. There were no lost causes. In the final few pages of the introduction Evans clearly outlines his argument for the necessity of finding the universality of mankind by "compar[ing] the customs of the Aborigines of America

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[35] Evans to Rev. Joseph Stinson, 20 August 1838, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 68.

[36] Although present since European contact, this idea of the dying race took hold with a vengeance in the post-1850 period and, in fact, became the basis for Imperial policy on Aboriginal people. See John Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6:2 (1976). Reprinted in *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native History*, edited by Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), p. 39-55.

[37] Interestingly, such an approach would have been acceptable to Calvinist evangelicals who maintained the belief that only the elect were destined for heaven.

with… the Asiatics," and that such a study "shall at least leave room for the well-grounded conjecture in favour of an Asiatic emigration to this Continent."[38]

On the "Eskimaux"

Evans next undertakes a brief explanation of the lifestyle, culture, and language of the Inuit. This short chapter on the "Eskimaux" is exceptional for its extensive examination, but also for the way in which it was devised. Evans pulled together two types of information, that which he had read and that which he had heard from first-hand accounts, and compressed them into one narrative. Initially, his focus is anthropological: physical characteristics, diet, shelter, and language. What sets apart the writing in this four-page chapter is that its tone is different than the rest of Evans's workbook. This section reads like raw field data collected by an anthropologist, as though it were recently compiled and prepared for an academic journal, with the necessary detailed descriptions. An example of this tone occurs when he describes the physical character of the Inuit:

> One striking peculiarity is that while all the aborigines appear to possess an aversion to beards, and whiskers, this people pride themselves in a flowing beard and bushy whiskers.... Their general stature is about five feet eight or ten inches, some however are found, particularly to the westward, nearing six feet, they are for the most part stout, and well-made and perhaps as manly a race as are to be found in the Western Hemisphere.[39]

Evans's tone in these four pages of the workbook read much differently than those sections that surround it, and, as well, much of the detailed information provided on the Inuit is not supported with his usual citations. Such a change in tone and style leads one to believe that this was not information taken from a book, but rather collected by Evans

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[38] Evans, Workbook, p. 7.

[39] Evans, Workbook, p. 15.

from someone who had lived among the Inuit. Such a man was at Fort Michipicoten in the winter of 1838-39: Nicol Finlayson.

Finlayson had spent a large portion of his career stationed in the far north, working in the Ungava district at Fort Chimo on the South River.[40] This remote post in the eastern Arctic could be seen as one of the great failures of the fur trade, since, due to the harshness of the climate, food for survival, not trading furs, was foremost in the minds of the local Aboriginal peoples. Finlayson acted as chief trader for six years and undoubtedly had close contact with local Inuit.[41] This close connection is revealed in the post journals. A great deal of what Evans was reporting about the Inuit in the workbook was based on conversations he had with Finlayson. Evans reports on page sixteen that on a particular point he has been "informed by Mr. Finlayson who has resided on the North East Coast several years."[42] In several instances, including the following account of a greeting, Evans's report appears to draw on Finlayson's experience, not on literature:

> [w]hen he meets a person to whom he is a stranger, he without fear throws up both his hands, presenting their palms as a token that he is unarmed and consequently friendly, and will not advance a step unless the person met, returned the sign or gives him some equally expressive token of good will and peaceful intentions. As soon as this is done, he with the greatest freedom advances and gives his hands and his sincere friendship. He places the most implicit confidence in promises, and is scrupulously careful to fulfil any made in his part.[43]

The explanation provided here does not read as though it is taken from a book; rather, it seems to be the observation of someone who has met many Inuit and knows their habits

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[40] Johnson, "Nicol Finlayson," *DCB,* p. 284.

[41] A point of interest is that Finlayson's replacement at Fort Chimo was John McLean, the man who would marry Evans's daughter Clarissa in 1845.

[42] Evans, Workbook, p. 16.

[43] Ibid., p. 19.

well. Further evidence of the involvement of Finlayson appears in Evans's workbook in the discussion of the Inuit language. Evans explains that a list was "collected from a comparison of 132 Eskimaux words...."[44] He put this material to use by creating a comparative list of words examining the "Eskimaux, Ojibway, Chippewayans, and Ottawas."[45] Evans knew Ojibway, and it is possible that through his time in Upper Canada he had become familiar with Ottawa, but he had no personal exposure to either "Eskimaux" or "Chippewayan" from which to gather a vocabulary. Nicol Finlayson having lived in the Ungava district for a number of years may have provided Evans with the "132 Eskimaux words" while the previous chief trader at Michipicoten, George Keith, was fluent in Chipewyan.[46] Evans ably presents this raw data without indicating who collected it or how it was collected, acting as anthropologist in an age before anthropology. Regardless of where Evans gained access to these distant languages he put them to work in his search for universals.

A Researcher's Notes

Following Evans's examination of the Inuit, the workbook takes on a much more informal character, assuming the form of a disjointed notebook where Evans was simply copying down passages from resources and working through his thesis. However, these jottings are not unimportant. In examining Evans's informal writings we can see the early stages of his ideas formulating, the topics that he is interested in are revealed, and we gain a better understanding of the scope of his research.

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[44] Evans, Workbook, p. 18.

[45] Ibid., p. 18.

[46] Williams, *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* p. 173.

Pages 20 and 21 are generally unconnected notes. The disconnected nature can be best seen in the wide spectrum of topics covered, including Chinese offerings to spirits, the 'savage' nature of Greenlanders, Hottentot medical practices, smoking the hookah pipe, and the Maori funeral custom of cutting off a widow's little finger. Although they are largely written in short passages, these 11 pages are not completely random. There are connections to the larger themes of the workbook embedded within the shorter passages, and there are also a number of interesting and formative ideas that emerge in close examination. These pages of notes are important to our understanding of Evans's researching process and reveal that in his reading a vastly varied number of topics caught his attention.

Manners and Customs

Evans's workbook returns to his overarching theme of universality on page 22. There he turns his focus to the "customs, manners and languages of the Indians and the Asiatic…" in order to "establish beyond a doubt even without the testimony of Holy Writ that the former have at some remote period formed part of the great Eastern family."[47] What is important to see in this passage is that Evans will not be using scripture to bolster his argument from this point on. As we will see in the following chapter, Evans was true to his word, and throughout the study he was more dependent on scientific studies than on scriptural works as sources.[48] Such an exclamation by an evangelical missionary might, at first, seem surprising; however, if one considers the scientific nature of evangelicalism

[47] Evans, Workbook, p. 22.

[48] See chapter five and also the charts in Appendix 7.

it is less alarming. John Wesley himself had "stressed an agreement between natural philosophy and religion in persons of 'sound understanding.'"[49] While such enthusiasm for science was not felt by all evangelicals in the early Victorian period, most were interested and many were actively participating in scientific endeavours. One of the most active participants in science was the Reverend Thomas Chalmers who

> supposed that there was a permanent natural law operating in the universe [and so] looked to science with confident expectation. Thus Chalmers [was] anxious to show the hand of God at work in the formation of rocks and in the movement of the heavens.[50]

Evans, like most evangelicals, did not see a vast separation between scripture and science, but rather ways that the two were one. Although Evans had earlier in the workbook warned against "dark groping" that was inevitable by relying solely on science, he was clearly willing to utilize science to support his own argument. However, his use of science was always based in evangelical assumptions that science was simply supporting evidence of God's work in the universe. In the next chapter I will fully explore the extent to which Evans relied on scientific sources, and investigate how those sources influenced his work.

Evans's workbook proceeds on its course of proving universals by exploring similarities in religious practices between North American Indigenous people and Asians. Evans specifically looks to comparisons between the Ojibwa and cultures in India, China, and Korea. This selection is a result of his situation: he was living in Ojibwa country,

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[49] Brooke, *Science and Religion*, p. 189.

[50] Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, p. 23. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) was a member of the Clapham Sect who was an important evangelical writer of the early Victorian period. He espoused most of the thinking that came to mark mid-nineteenth-century society: Malthusian population theory, political economy, and free trade.

and found a number of volumes in Cameron's library on Asiatic cultures.[51] These circumstances influenced the focus of his workbook as he wrote about those subjects that were readily available. It is in these sections on Indigenous religion and cultural practices that Evans most adeptly balances the universal character of humankind with the particular, strange, and different. Resolving this tension takes two forms: first he emphasizes the unusual practices within each culture, and then he highlights that they occur both in Asia and in North America. Although Evans saw both cultures' religions as pagan, he remained focussed on emphasizing what they shared. This section of Evans's workbook is therefore a study in universal paganism as a means to prove his greater point of universal humanity.

Evans acts as anthropologist/ethnographer in his descriptions of Ojibwa religious ceremony by providing detailed descriptions of Ojibwa and Indian rites. He describes in great detail religious feasts of both groups, using descriptive narrative to portray the ceremonies. In comparing the third and fifth paragraphs of page 22 we can see Evans's credible ethnographic work compared to that undertaken by similar men in India. What we are also seeing in this comparison is Victorian anthropology at work. Evans was serving two purposes: collecting field data on the Ojibwa, and completing an ethnographical study based on other men's work.[52] Historian George Stocking has

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[51] Among these sources were the *Asiatick Researches* which focussed on India, Father Le Comte's study on China, and Knox's *History of Ceylone*. For further discussion on these texts see chapter five.

[52] It must be emphasized here that Evans was not the first to provide ethnographic evidence of the Ojibwa or Chippewa to a European audience. Evans would certainly have been aware of, and probably well versed in, the works of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft who had undertaken anthropological-like studies of the Ojibwa in the earlier part of the century and who had reached a large audience with his publications. See: *Narrative of an Expedition Through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake, The Actual Source of this River; Embracing an Exploratory Trip through the St. Croix and Burntwood (or Brule) Rivers, in 1832* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1834). For a good description of the widespread readership of Schoolcraft see Robert Kruse, *The Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Collection: A Catalogue of Books in Native American Languages in the Library of the Boston Athenaeum* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1991).

argued that missionaries were favoured as ethnographic data collectors by early anthropologists because "through long residence [they became] …intimately acquainted" with Aboriginal languages and culture.[53] Evans credits the *Asiatick Researches* with his knowledge of Indian culture, but states that for the Ojibwa "I write from personal knowledge as well as from information received from the most respectable and creditable persons."[54] Evans knew he was providing ethnographic detail to the outside world; thus, the descriptions he provides on pages 22 and 23 are highly detailed:

> The drummers on the towaegun and the rattles of the Shesequia are seated and commence beating and shaking and singing in a sort of concert keeping time with the music, while all the rest of the company dance around, their movement is a sort of monotonous step never varying and never allowing the toe of the foot behind to come forward beyond the heel of the one in front.[55]

Evans seems to be consciously providing detailed description so that future scholars might study his observations. However, he was also completing a comparative anthropological work, and did so as other Victorian anthropologists did, by turning to "books on the experiences of travelers, explorers, naturalists, missionaries and colonial officials ethnographic materials[, which] …provided the basis for the theoretical arguments… of ethnologists."[56] His use of this ethnographic information formed his own study as he used this information to glean further ethnographic detail. Believing that there were startling similarities in ceremony, Evans took his knowledge on Indian religion, which he had gained from reading in the *Asiatick Researches,* and explained the Indian customs to a local Ojibwa holy man. Evans thus completed a second layer of

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[53] George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), p. 79.

[54] Evans, Workbook, p. 22.

[55] Ibid., p 22.

[56] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology,* p. 79.

ethnographic work, by exposing one cultural group to another and recording their reaction.

Evans completes a further ethnographic investigation by comparing the customs surrounding death in Aboriginal communities, specifically the Sekani and their neighbouring tribe the Carrier, with burial practices in India. Here again Evans acted as anthropologist, providing evidence from previously written accounts to support his theory of monogenesis. He initially pointed to the differences that existed between the two tribes' death practices. Quoting from Harmon's journal, Evans wrote, "the Sicannies [sic] bury, while the Tacullies [Carrier] burn their dead."[57] Evans uses these examples to indirectly comment on civility of North American Indigenous peoples. He is not willing to directly say that one tribe was more advanced than another, but he is willing to highlight how one tribe subscribes to pagan rituals similar to those found in India. Evans highlights these similarities so that he can point out the level of civility of both. His argument is designed to highlight the varying levels of denigration within each culture, and to show that the mission in North America is not a waste, since there are tribes that are further along on the civility trail than some Asians. The monogenesis base of evangelicalism held that all men were from one God, and therefore were equal in the eyes of God. Thus, the belief in the need for "re-Christianising" the lost tribes was a popular idea in the early Victorian period as evangelicals struggled to explain how they were of the same God as pagans.[58] The pagans, through neglect, had simply forgotten the Word,

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[57] Evans, Workbook, p. 32. These passages have been checked against the original Harmon journal. See W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon 1800-1816* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1957).

[58] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 76.

and all that was needed was some re-training, through a missionary, to bring them back up to a level of civility. It was this monogenist view that sparked evangelicals' interest in different cultures, and led them to want to change those cultures. The first step to getting them back on the path to God was to re-teach them the Word. With great zeal evangelical missionaries headed into the empire to learn new languages, translate Christian doctrine into those languages, and begin the process of re-Christianisation.

Language

James Evans is best known for his work on syllabics and the development of printable characters for Indigenous language systems. His early development of Ojibwa syllabic characters led him to print his early works (see chapter two), and his later work on Cree brought him notoriety and established his name in the historical record. Language, as I have shown, was very important to Evans; in fact, it probably was in his mind one of the key elements of his, and any, mission project. Evans developed ideas on language in his workbook using the familiar cross-cultural method of investigation.

Evans's workbook focuses on the ideas of language heavily and includes a section devoted solely to the subject. As has been discussed previously the evangelical missionary interest in language was based in the universalist idea of monogenism. Thus, if all men were of one genesis or origin their languages could be proven to stem from a common root. We can clearly see how monogenist beliefs coloured Evans's investigation. He writes that "[t]he Indians of America know nothing of Alphabetical writing.... We may then date their exodus from Asia at a period prior to the general

knowledge of the art of writing at least in that region from whence they migrated."[59] Evans's linguistic study was based in religion, but undertaken with scientific fervour.

One of the most intriguing passages of the workbook is the first line of Evans's essay on "Languages of the Aborigines compared with those of the Asiatics." He bases much of his linguistic study on comparisons of languages and the characters used to represent languages. He identifies India as the starting point of any linguistic study because "the Hindoos certainly yield to none in their claims to antiquity, and their language probably contains the ground work of the Asiatic as well as the European generally."[60] This comment is an important one to consider as it reflects notions that do not fit with commonly held beliefs of evangelicals, Victorians, and usually Evans. If one follows through Evans's logic, that we can trace lineage through linguistics, and that the Indian languages are the precursors to European languages, then would it not also follow that Europeans are the descendants of Indians? For Evans such a logical pattern is evidence of the Indigenous people of North America flowing from Asia, so it seems that he would make the same contention about Europeans. More importantly what this passage reveals is Evans's interest in and understanding of pre-Darwinian thought. The 1830s in Britain saw a growing interest in comparative religion, a topic that Evans would have undoubtedly been drawn to. Men like Evans and William Carey, who explored language and religion in India in the early nineteenth century, believed that "no barrier of unfamiliarity, no obstacle of ignorance or suspicion was great enough to restrict what [they] considered the universal range of the gospel."[61] Thus, it was possible to envision

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[59] Evans, Workbook, p. 35.

[60] Ibid., p. 35.

[61] Sanneh, *Translating the Message,* p. 102.

that European language had also been part of an evolutionary process. Such attitudes coming from missionaries in the empire helped reshape views on colonized peoples and sparked the interest of scholars like Max Müller. In the 1850s Müller began studying the history of religion by examining language comparatively.[62] By reading Evans's workbook we can see that he was ahead of his time, as he would have agreed with Müller's later developed notions of comparative philology, universals, and the evolution of religion.

The complex nature of Evans's argument for universals is seen on page 38 as he tempers his scientific analysis with sudden and extensive quotations from the Bible. Having explored the linguistic connections between Hebrew and Ojibwa, he looks to both languages' words for rainbow. He suddenly finds Biblical evidence of universality:

> That the Indians have been at some remote period since the general deluge, acquainted with the Asiatics is, I think, deducible from the name given to the Rainbow, which is too expressive to be lost sight of and applies with so much strictness to the Mosaic account in Gen 9 ch., 13-14-15 verses, that it is I conceive presumptuous to suppose that the circumstances can be merely fortuitous.[63]

What is intriguing is that this is the only point in the workbook where Evans directly quotes from the Bible. What this passage highlights is the way evangelicals like Evans were beginning to enmesh religion and science in their explanations of the world. This

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[62] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology,* pp. 56-57.

[63] Evans, Workbook, p. 38. The passage that Evans is citing reads "*13* I have set my rainbow in the clouds, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth. *14* When I bring clouds over the earth and the rainbow is seen in the clouds, *15* I will remember my covenant between me and you and every living creatures of all flesh; and the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh." One other interesting point to note is that the sons of Noah appear at line 18 "*18* The sons of Noah who went forth from the ark were Shem, Ham and Japheth. *19* These three were the sons of Noah; and from these the whole earth was peopled."

delicate relationship would be finessed further in later decades by men like Max Müller and Charles Darwin.

One factor that is highly intriguing in the workbook is the remarkable linguistic connections that Evans makes. He finds evidence to connect Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Ojibwa, often in places that modern scholars neglect. He finds much evidence in the classics, quoting Virgil and Homer alongside scientific journals and the Bible. These classical citations are generally used as historical evidence to buttress his argument. The best example occurs on page 37 of the workbook where he examines feasts and utilizes Homer's *Odyssey* as evidence of ancient feast rituals:

> Hence we may conclude, that men were great eaters in those days, and… ever probably of a larger stature as well as being longer lived than we are at this day. Homer Odyss C XIV ver 74 etc. makes his heroes great eaters – when Eumeus entertained Ulysses he dressed two pigs for himself and his guest.[64]

For Evans, citing from Homer alongside scientific studies and the Bible would be good scholarship. The classical education that Evans received at the Lincolnshire boarding school he attended as a boy certainly would have included study of Homer and Virgil: at that time "good learning meant… classical learning."[65] Most boarding schools in England in the early nineteenth century focussed their programs on classics, scripture, and history, but it is important to note that "much of the work in history entailed reading of classical authors."[66] For Evans to turn to Homer for historical evidence is therefore not unusual but rather typical. His interest in language would have extended back to his education at the Lincolnshire boarding school. Linguistics played a part in any proper

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[64] Evans, Workbook, p. 37.

[65] David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1961), p. 62.

[66] Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, p. 64.

education in the nineteenth century: "the study of scripture was in part linguistic (the New Testament in Greek)."[67] There is little evidence that Evans was a keen student of comparative linguistics while at school; however, we can clearly see that in his early mission career language was his main focus. Before we undertake further analysis of Evans's language study in the workbook it will be informative to look at the development of the field of linguistics.

Modern linguists have classified nineteenth-century linguistic interest as largely Cartesian because it sought out positivist ways to explain linguistic connections. The central tenet of early linguistic belief was "that the general features of grammatical structure [are] common to all languages and reflect certain fundamental properties of the mind."[68] Evans does not mention Descartes in his workbook, but clearly the universalist approach that he took in his study was compatible with this Cartesian model. Evans would likely have substituted the rationalist notion of the 'properties of the mind' with more ecclesiastical beliefs, but the central notion that all humanity shared common linguistic roots that proved universality would have appealed to him. Although he would have shunned anyone relying solely on Descartes, Evans's study was highly Cartesian in style. In acting as an early anthropologist, he was also acting as a linguist.

Evans's linguistic study is best captured in his comparative examinations of Ojibwa words with those of other languages. He takes particular note of the similarities between Ojibwa and Hebrew:

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[67] Ibid., p. 64.

[68] Noam Chomsky, *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought* (New York and London: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 59. See also: Noam Chomsky, "*Cartesian Linguistics*: Acquisition and Use of Language," Stephen Stich, ed., *Innate Ideas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), p. 89.

> I cannot omit noticing the very striking similarity which exists between the Hebrew and the Ojibway in the words by which the human species are called in both languages. …when a man is spoken of as an individual he is termed Enosh - the sh being an affix to denote unworthiness or misery and frequently this applies in scripture… so that the word thus separated would stand Eno and the word implying man in Ojibway is Enene the latter ne being only an appellation to imply importance and would thus stand with the as compared Eno - Ene. If spoken of with contempt or expressive of unworthiness misery sh must be attached which will make it Enenevish.[69]

Evans had close to ten years of research into the Ojibwa language through his missions in Upper Canada, and had recently published his *Speller and Interpreter* on the Ojibwa language. Although his research was extensive his previous work had not been comparative, and it was not until the emergence of the workbook that we begin to see him trying to fit the Ojibwa language into his wider beliefs of universalism. Such linguistic comparisons were not merely a matter of scholarly investigation. As we will see in the final chapter of this thesis Evans was closely studying the characters of languages in preparation for a new syllabic alphabet.

This chapter has examined important components of Evans's workbook and how he structured it. He was keen to explore Indigenous cultural practices and explain how they were evidence of monogenesis. His true interest had always been language, and it is in his examination of different languages that he makes his strongest case for universality. Much of this work was influenced by and reflects the sources that Evans had available at Michipicoten. The next chapter will explore these sources and highlight their importance in understanding the development of Evans's syllabic scripts.

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[69] Evans, Workbook, p. 37.

Chapter Five – Sources

Evans's use of sources is an important aspect in any consideration of the influence of the workbook on his later work. Appendix six is a compiled list of the eighty-three sources referenced by Evans. To clarify Evans's use of sources I have provided a chart (see Appendix 7, Figure 1). A compilation of Evans's sources reveals the largely scientific nature of his study; 68% of his citations fall into the scientific category, while only 16% can be placed in the Biblical realm, and 14% are references to classical literature such as Homer's *Odyssey*.[1] This is not to say that there was no consideration of religion, as Evans himself pointed out that studies without any scriptural underpinning were made of a "tottering fabric," and thus doomed to fail.[2] However, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, after making a number of scriptural points of argument, Evans was keen to "establish beyond a doubt even without the testimony of Holy Writ that the former [North American Aboriginal peoples] have at some remote period formed part of the great Eastern family."[3] The weightiest portion of his argument is made in a scientific context, even if it is framed within the evangelical mindset.

Why would Evans, an evangelical missionary, have turned to scientific journals to defend his theory of universalism? A number of reasons could account for his inclination. He was not living in a vacuum and was certainly well aware of the scientific world around him. We can see evidence of this awareness in the simple fact that he found it worthwhile to read the scientific journals housed at Michipicoten. Modern

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[1] In compiling this data I included only those citations which were named; about ten percent of excerpts were not included as they were merely put in quotation marks and not identified. The data were then categorized based on subject (see Figure 1) and the number of occurrences of each title (see Figure 2).

[2] Evans, Workbook, p. 3.

[3] Ibid., p. 22.

historians must be careful not to assume that missionaries were solely concerned with scripture. Evans's interest in language surely took him beyond the sphere of the Bible. It is possible that he wanted to fire back at Galindo by matching his scientific arguments with his own researches in science; fighting fire with fire. Another, simpler explanation is that these were the sources that were available to him at Michipicoten. Undoubtedly Evans would have been travelling with a number of his own books as was common practice, but there is no evidence what books Evans may have carried with him that winter.[4] Anticipating a great deal of travel that winter, Evans likely carried less reading matter of his own with him. His near death adventure on the lake seems to have encouraged Evans to remain close to the post for the rest of the winter, and, thus, he probably had more time to read than he anticipated. These circumstances heighten the likelihood of his reading extensively during the winter at Michipicoten. Certainly Evans clearly had stumbled on a well-stocked library full of resources new to him, and so he was exploring these and looking for ways of applying them to his spiritual beliefs.

Finding the precise contents of the library at Fort Michipicoten would be a difficult task; however, a scan of Evans's citations reveals the predominant sources (see Appendix 7, Figure 2). A number of these important works comprise a multi-volume series and so it must be considered whether Evans had access to the entire set, and, if not, which volumes were at his disposal. Evans does aid the researcher in the task of providing evidence through citations of specific volumes. For the *Encyclopaedia* he used volumes one, three, five, seven, nine, and eleven.[5] His workbook makes citations from

[4] In Evans's harrowing journey on Lake Superior he mentions needing to thaw out his books after the canoe he was travelling in capsized. James Evans, Journal, 10 November 1838, University of Western Ontario, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, Box 4734, file 258a.

volumes one, four, and nine of the *Asiatick Researches,* and volume two of *Archaeologia Americana.* For the purposes of this study I have chosen to focus principally, but not exclusively, on the particular volumes that he cited, that is, those volumes that I can prove he had at his disposal at Michipicoten.

As to the process of analysis of these sources, when Evans cited a particular journal or book, I located that book and read its contents widely, looking for significant topics that would have influenced him. With such a wide scope of investigation some assumptions are necessary. I have assumed that Evans read the entirety of a book, which, while probable, cannot be verified. Evans may have simply sought out in these texts what he needed to buttress his argument, and neglected to read other entries. Nevertheless, in reading more broadly in his sources we can glimpse the possible influence of them, so we must not entirely discount them simply because they are not quoted or cited. To do so would be to assume that Evans did not read like a scholar, broadly, yet searching for specific evidence to support his argument. In closely studying the broader scope of the sources we can see how Evans incorporated his general reading into the narrative of his subject.

Encyclopaedia Britannica

The work that appears to have been the most influential on Evans is the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Figure 2 shows that Evans made twenty-four references to the *Encyclopaedia,* four times the number of the next most frequently cited source. The

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[5] This correlation was achieved by matching Evans's citations with the 1797 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (see appendix 8).

Encyclopaedia Britannica appeared in Edinburgh in 1771.[6] The first edition contained only three volumes, but by the third edition in 1797 it had expanded to eighteen volumes. The full title of that third edition goes a long way to explaining the raison d'être of the encyclopaedia

> Encyclopaedia Britannica; or, a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature, Constructed on a Plan, by which the Different Sciences and Arts are digested into the Form of Distinct Treatises or Systems, comprehending the History, Theory, and Practice of each, according to the Latest Discoveries and Improvements; and full Explanations given of the Various Detached Parts of Knowledge, Natural and Artificial Objects, or to Matters Ecclesiatical, [sic] Civil, Military, Commercial, & c. Including Elucidations of the most important Topics relative to Religion, Morals, Manners, and the Oeconomy of Life: Together with a Description of all the Countries, Cities, principal Mountains, Seas, Rivers &c. throughout the World; A General History, Ancient and Modern, of the different Empires, Kingdoms, and States; and An Account of the Lives of the most Eminent Persons in every Nation, from the earliest ages down to the present times.[7]

We can see from this title that the encyclopaedia aimed to provide a broad base of information on a vast array of topics. One commentator has argued that eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century men's need for encyclopaedias was part of the growing belief that everything that could be known about the world was being discovered in

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[6] Several editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* were consulted and verified against Evans's citations to ascertain which editions were at Michipicoten. The third edition, 1797, is held in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book room of the University of Toronto. The fifth edition, 1817, is held at the University of Toronto, Robarts Library. Evans does not reveal which edition of the *Encyclopaedia* he was using. Due to the fact that the entries that he cites appear in both editions and both are identical in these particular entries, it is difficult to ascertain precisely which edition Evans had at Michipicoten. Thus, for the purposes of this study I have relied on both editions, and found them to be generally similar in content regarding my investigations. I have limited myself to examining those volumes of the *Encyclopaedia* to which I can prove Evans had access while at Michipicoten. *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; Constructed on a Plan, by which the Different Sciences and Arts are Digested into the form of Distinct Treatises or Systems, Comprehending the History, Theory, and Practice, of each, according to the Latest Discoveries and Improvements; and Full Explanations given of the Various Detached Parts of Knowledge, whether relating to Natural and Artificial Objects, or to Matters Ecclesiastical, Civil, Military, Commercial, &c, 3rd Edition* (Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. MacFarquhar, 1797); *Encyclopaedia Britannica, or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; Enlarged and Improved, The 5th Edition* (Edinburgh: Encyclopaedia Press, 1817).

[7] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, 3rd edition* (Edinburgh: Printed for A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1797).

contemporary times, and that all that was needed was a way of cataloguing this great "circle of knowledge."[8] It is important to note in the long title for the *Encyclopaedia* what is accorded the greatest import: a vast array of scientific endeavours preceded history, just near the end, and biography. A new hierarchy was being established with science pre-eminent; the *Encyclopaedia* simply reflected that new hierarchy.[9]

For the purposes of this study it is important to see the *Encyclopaedia* not in the modern sense, as a method of reportage, but as a "vehicle of scientific communication" in an era when discoveries were many and communication distant.[10] Such a role would have been particularly important in the recesses of fur trade country. Evans, stuck in a fur trade post with these books, surely would have used the *Encyclopaedia* as an educational tool, an opportunity to look up topics of interest. By considering Evans's references we can see how new topics came to influence him and how they may have aided him in research that went beyond his workbook. Evans used the *Encyclopaedia* to buttress his argument about the universals of mankind, more specifically, the commonalities between North American Aboriginals and Asians. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* helped him locate these similarities by providing detailed descriptions of

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[8] Richard Yeo, "Reading Encyclopedias: Science and the Organization of Knowledge in British Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences, 1730-1850," *Isis*, vol. 82, no. 1 (1991), p. 24; Herman Kogan, *The Great EB: The Story of the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 6.

[9] Yeo, "Reading Encyclopedias," p. 26. Yeo presents an interesting argument on how the alphabetization of encyclopaedias in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century led to the development of separate disciplines of study in the arts and sciences as classification moved away from the philosophical categorizations more common in the eighteenth century.

[10] Harvey Einbinder, *The Myth of Britannica* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1964), p. 34.

peoples from all corners of the earth, especially those corners of which Evans had little previous knowledge.[11]

In order to fully understand its impact we must consider a number of the articles that Evans examined.[12] His interest in linguistics was satisfied by his examination of the encyclopaedia's entry on 'Language'.[13] He copies a long passage from this particular article, which can be seen to contain many of the same ideas that he argued. The article searches out universals of language, examining how similar sounding words have similar meanings in different languages:

> In the *Shanscrit* [sic], or ancient language of the *Gentoos,* OUR signifies a day: In other eastern languages, the same word was used to denote both light and fire. Thus in the Chaldee, UR is fire; in the Egyptian, OR is the sun or light: In Hebrew, AUR is light; in the Greek αηε is the air, often light: in Latin, AURA is the air; and in Irish it is AEAR.[14]

Evans used part of this paragraph in his workbook, but extended it by adding the Inuit word for sun. He was clearly influenced by the comparative ideas that he found in the

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[11] In a number of instances Evans turns to the *Encyclopaedia* to obtain facts about unfamiliar places and people; when Evans describes the "Eskimaux," he includes a citation on 'Beards' as evidence of the variety of the custom possible among the various races. What is interesting about this particular instance is how Evans has utilized the *Encyclopaedia* as a factual base for a broader point and cross-referenced the excerpt. The *Encyclopaedia* entry reads: "Le Comte observes, that the Chinese affect long beards extravagantly but nature has baulked them, and only given them very little ones which, however, they cultivate with infinite care." Cross referenced to Le Comte we find that he writes "they imagine with themselves that a long Beard might contribute thereto, so they suffer it to grow; now if they have not much, it is not for want of Cultivating: But Nature in this point has been very niggardly, there is not a Man of them that does not envy the *Europeans*, whom they look upon, in this respect as the greatest Men in the World." This example helps to illustrate that Evans was an astute scholar cross-referencing his material for added impact. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 3* (Edinburgh: Encyclopaedia Press, 1817), p. 483; Louis Daniel Lecomte, *Memoirs and Observations Topographical, Physical, Mathematical, Mechanical, Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical. Made in a late Journey through the Empire of China* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1698), p. 135.

[12] For a complete look at the articles that Evans consulted in his workbook see Appendix 6.

[13] Both the 1797 and 1817 editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* were consulted against Evans's citation: both match the entry. The entry that is cited by Evans is found on page 40 of the Workbook.

[14] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* vol. XI (1817), p. 520.

Encyclopaedia, and utilized a similar comparative method in examining Ojibwa words.[15] Meanwhile, the remainder of this article offers much for consideration regarding Evans's researches and thinking.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry on language heralds the universalist approach. The article begins even more explicitly than Evans's study, by specifying what makes the human language different from those of animals:

> Nature has endowed every animal with powers sufficient to make known all those of its sensations and desires... between these animal voices and the language of men there is however very little analogy. Human language is capable of expressing ideas and notions, which there is every reason to believe that the brutal mind cannot conceive.[16]

Such a statement pulls a thread of evangelicalism through what was perceived as science, as it plainly argues that the new men that were becoming known to the European world were most certainly understood to be human. Such an entry was a reaction to the beliefs in developmentalism that were commonly held in the eighteenth century.[17] Science had set out to prove that all men were the sons of Adam, and took some rather extreme measures to do so. Around this time men like Samuel George Morton were seeking evidence for the thesis that different races were actually different species.[18] Evans, using the evidence provided by the *Encyclopaedia,* could show linguistic evidence to disprove such a theory. Men were separated from beasts by language. Evans set out to prove that this theory held for all men, even those who had never progressed beyond a level of barbarism.

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[15] See page 37 of the workbook.

[16] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1797).*, p. 529.

[17] George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 48.

[18] William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-1859* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 61.

Evans cited extensively from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry on Mexico. This entry is devoted largely to the pre-contact period, the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, and a shorter description of the physical geography, climate, and people. This order of presentation stands in contrast to the majority of entries that I have studied, which start with the physical descriptions and language and then move on to historical aspects. The organization of this entry speaks volumes about what was seen as important to the British in reporting the Mexican situation. The writer focuses on the pre-contact barbarism, and then the barbarism of the Roman Catholics entering the country. As the Spanish empire crumbled, the British grew increasingly interested in events in Latin America. This interest usually took an economic form as the British extended their influence by investing in mining and the building of factories.[19] British economic interests would thus necessitate that the Spanish Empire be painted as particularly brutish and bloody.[20] The *Encyclopaedia* entries that Evans cites on Mexico reflect this perspective, and help us to see how the British envisioned themselves as the centre of an expanding global empire.

In reading Evans's workbook we see that occasionally he takes vast tracts of material from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Far from making him a bald plagarist, this practice shows that Evans planned to follow the ideologies of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in his own work as it developed. He appears to have made these notations of ideas that he agreed with and planned to later incorporate them into his own argument.

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[19] D. C. M. Platt. *Latin America and British Trade, 1806-1914* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1973), p. 46.

[20] This tradition of denigrating other empires was a long-standing practice. Since the discovery of the New World the "Black Legend" of Spanish imperial tyranny had existed, which portrayed the Spanish empire as intrinsically bad for those being colonized. This legend provided the ideological justification for Britain to pursue Spanish imperial holdings, as they believed those holdings were being economically and spiritually mismanaged. For further detail see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c. 1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 116.

On pages 33 and 34, Evans copies a page of material from the *Encyclopaedia* entry on Korea, an entry which is only two columns in length, about half of which Evans has copied. The article itself has little content which would seem particularly relevant to Evans's study; however, he obviously felt that the information it contained would be valuable at some future date. Copying at such length signifies not only that he esteemed the contents but also, perhaps, that he doubted that he could access it again in the near future. Evans was, in this instance, using his workbook in its truest form; to stockpile information that he planned to return to study later.

Asiatick Researches

Another influential source that Evans had access to at Michipicoten was the *Asiatick Researches*. His use of and interest in this journal suggests how important a scientific journal could be to a missionary. The *Asiatick Researches* was an annually published journal, compiled by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[21] First published in 1788, it intended to distribute the findings of the Society in India back to Britain and a wide reading public. In fact, "the *Researches* would take Europe almost by storm … a pirated edition would be brought out in 1798 and … in 1805 it would be published in French."[22] What is striking about the journal is the manner in which it combines religious and scientific matter. The first volume offers articles about astronomical observations and extracting essential oil from roses, alongside another comparing the gods of Italy, Greece and India.[23] Evans's

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[21] A full twenty-volume set of the *Asiatick Researches*, from 1788 to 1836, is available on microfilm at the University of British Columbia. *Asiatick Researches: or, Transactions of the Society* (Calcutta: Manuel Cantopher, 1788).

[22] Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 54.

[23] *Asiatick Researches, vol. 1* (1788), p. 436.

use of the journal reflects this diversity. This was clearly a journal that, like Evans, had an affinity for seeking universals.

For the purposes of this study, only volumes one, four, and nine of the *Asiatick Researches* were consulted, as they were the only volumes that I could verify that Evans could read while at Michipicoten.[24] I have limited my investigation chiefly because the journal was just that, a periodical, which potentially arrived at the post annually. There was no guarantee of a full set of volumes being at the post, and a strong possibility that only selected volumes were in Cameron's library. This system of verification, while limiting, proved helpful in establishing influences on Evans. By looking at these select volumes in their entirety I have considered other articles that Evans may have consulted in his research, but that he did not cite or from which he drew no extracts. In the three volumes a number of articles clearly bore on his thinking about language and the importance of spreading the gospel.

In the extracts that Evans copies from *Asiatick Researches* there are some clues as to the influence the volumes had. On page 45 Evans cites a long genealogical list of which nations are descended from India, in the process leaving it open for North American Aboriginals to be included on that list. The passage that Evans copies forms part of the third anniversary discourse of the Asiatic Society, delivered by the President, Warren Hastings, on 2 February 1786.

> We may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some central country, to investigate which will be the object of my future Discourses; and I have a

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[24] Evans, Workbook, pp. 22 and 44. On page 22 he refers to volume 4, and on page 44 he refers to volume one and volume nine.

> sanguine hope, that your collections during the present year will bring to light many useful discoveries.[25]

Hastings was no stranger to enlightenment or evangelical thought, and eventually was recalled as governor of India for being too interested in Indian affairs.[26] What is evident from this passage is the mixture of science and religion. Proof is needed that all of these nations have evolved from the same origin, and it is through the collections of the amateur anthropologists that these connections will be found. Evans certainly would have concurred.

There are some points worth mentioning from the *Asiatick Researches* that do not appear in Evans's workbook. Although he fails to mention any examination of it, the first article in the first volume of the *Researches* is a discourse "On the Orthography of Asiatick words in Roman letters."[27] By placing an article on orthography on the first page of their first volume, the Asiatick Society was emphasizing the importance of language. Included in this article is a syllabic chart giving the sounds of the letters in "Indian, Arabian, and Persian."[28] This article argues a point, which was also one of Evans's key arguments, that there was a need for a uniform syllabic system:

> Almost every writer... has a method of notation peculiar to himself: but none has yet appeared in the form of a complete system ... so that each original sound may be rendered invariably by one appropriated symbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the Roman alphabet.[29]

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[25] *Asiatick Researches, vol. 1,* (1788), p. 431.

[26] For a thorough examination of the philosophy of and eventual trial of Warren Hastings see: P. J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[27] *Asiatick Researches, vol. 1,* (1788), p. 1.

[28] Ibid., plate 1.

[29] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

Evans had written in his *Speller and Interpreter* (1837) a similar passage:

> All who have attempted to represent the Indian [Ojibwa] dialects by written characters, have proved the impracticability of accomplishing this object by the use of Roman character, while it retains its English sound; and almost every writer has a method of notation peculiar to himself, while none have presented us with a complete system, in which each sound is rendered invariable, by a distinct and appropriate character.[30]

The similarity in these passages is striking, and seems to point to the possibility that Evans had access to the *Asiatick Researches* prior to his arrival at Michipicoten. But whether he had read volumes of this title, or had used another source, or came to the observation on his own, Evans obviously concurred with the idea found in this passage of the *Researches*. Devising syllabic characters to represent new languages was becoming a popular pursuit around the empire. The *Asiatick Researches* article presents a series of characters, designed by the society's members, to represent syllables in Indian, Persian, and Arabian, as "our English alphabet and orthography are disgracefully and almost ridiculously imperfect; and it would be impossible to express either Indian, Persian, or Arabian words in Roman characters, as we are absurdly taught to pronounce them."[31] Evans found parallels within the pages of the *Researches* that accorded with his own confidence in syllabics. Having worked on similar linguistic issues for the Ojibwa since the early 1830s Evans found in the *Asiatick Researches* important and reputable evidence to bolster his linguistic pursuits.

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[30] Evans, *Speller and Interpreter*, p. 4.

[31] *Asiatick Researches, vol. 1*, (1788), p. 13. This point highlights a vein of research that merits pursuit at a later date: given that this is Warren Hastings's journal. Hastings was the governor of the East India Company who was sent home to England and put on trial for corruption, since many in Britain believed he had "gone native" or at the very least for was too sympathetic to the Indian culture.

Archaeologia Americana

The point of departure for Evans's workbook is Galindo's letter in the American publication *Archaeologia Americana.* The *Archaeologia Americana* was the journal of the American Antiquarian Society, and was first published by Caleb Atwater in 1820.[32] Of the first seven volumes published under the title *Archaeologia Americana* only volumes one and two were published before 1838-39 when Evans began writing his workbook.[33] Evans makes reference only to the second volume of the series, which contains the letter written by Don Juan Galindo. This volume of the journal focuses entirely on understanding the Aboriginal culture and language, and includes some articles that undoubtedly influenced Evans's thinking. However, he makes citations only from the Galindo letter.

The vast linguistic tract compiled in the second volume of *Archaeologia Americana* accomplishes a feat that aligns with Evans's aim with his workbook. Section four of the volume is a forty-eight page treatise on "Indian languages," which is followed by several appendices on specific languages that focus on grammar, vocabulary and conjugations. All told, there are 262 pages of material on Aboriginal languages. Surprisingly I have found few correlations between the work Evans completed and what appeared in this journal. The lack of overlap could be due to the fact that, like Galindo's letter, the language article was a secular scientific endeavour. The secular nature of

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[32] James Griffin, "The Pursuit of Archeology in the United States," *American Anthropologist,* vol. 61, no. 3 (1959), pp. 379-80.

[33] Volume one appeared in 1820, volume two in 1836, and the third volume was not published until 1854. The final volume, the seventh, published under the title *Archaeologia Americana* appeared in 1885; however, subsequent volumes were published under the title *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society* into the 1920s.

Archaeologia Americana becomes apparent in its explanation of the similarities between Asian and American languages. The journal reports

> That the separation of some of the Indian nations took place in very early times; and the difficulty of accounting for it is not greater here than on the other continent.... The varieties of languages and of dialects must be more numerous amongst uncivilized tribes, principally those in the hunter state, necessarily subdivided into small communities, than in populous nations united under one government.[34]

This was a scientific study. There is no mention of the lost sons of Noah, no mention of the degenerate religious state of the 'un-civilized', and no mention of the need to re-Christianize. Since Evans failed to acknowledge any part of the article on language, it is likely that he saw this discourse as anti-scriptural, polygenesist in its orientation, and therefore inaccurate. From the point of view only of empirical inquiry, Evans's rejection of the information apparent in *Archaeologia Americana* is surprising considering the scope and depth of its investigation.

A Variety of Other Sources

Evans cites twenty-four other sources in his workbook. These sources range in topic from the classical literature of Homer to fur trader journals and scientific examinations of Korea, China, and Ceylon.[35] As we saw in chapter three, fur trade libraries were often wide ranging in scope and substance. Judging by the variety of Evans's citations, the library at Michipicoten was no exception. Examining these twenty-four sources reveals Evans's desire to display his theme of universal humanity, but it is important to see the varied ways that these books and journals spoke to the subject.

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[34] *Archaeologia Americana, vol. 2* (Cambridge: University Press, 1836), p. 161.

[35] See appendix 6.

Perhaps one of the most important sources that Evans examined was the journal of Daniel Williams Harmon. Harmon was an American fur trader, who was under the employ of the NWC. While stationed at various points throughout the west he kept a journal, which has become valuable for its depictions of fur trade and Aboriginal life. Harmon was an evangelical Christian, having been raised in the Church of Christ.[36] He was often

> distressed by the profanity of the voyageurs and by their intemperance... he was shocked to discover that the voyageurs did not make any observance of the Sabbath Day, but acted on Sunday just as they did any other day. For himself... [he] sought seclusion and spent the day without labor, most of the time reading his Bible.[37]

Harmon's journal was first published in 1820, and has since been republished and edited by W. Kaye Lamb. Lamb draws attention to the fact that he has corrected a problem in the original publication, which was prepared for the press by Reverend Daniel Haskel (1784-1848), and thus reflected the religious beliefs of this editor. However, even in Lamb's secularized edition Harmon's religious leanings are evident in the journal.

In his workbook Evans quotes large sections from Harmon's journal, particularly his descriptions of the Carrier and Sekani. As was mentioned under the heading for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the copying of these long passages would seem to signify that Evans believed he would be separated from this source once he left Michipicoten. He copies nearly two full pages of material from Harmon's journal, focussing mainly on the burial customs of northern Aboriginals. As a fur trader Harmon was keenly aware of the Aboriginal cultures that surrounded him. His interest in native culture is seen in an

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[36] John Spargo, *Two Bennington-Born Explorers and Makers of Modern Canada* (Bennington: Bennington Historical Museum, 1950), pp. 35-36.

[37] Ibid., p. 46.

addition to his journal title, "A General Account of the Indians on the East Side of the Rocky Mountains," a treatise which closely resembles Evans's workbook. Harmon undertakes an anthropological study of all the Indigenous peoples whom he had encountered, reporting on their religious customs, languages, and daily life. The structure of Evans's workbook closely mirrors Harmon's essay, leading from general religious beliefs, to ceremonies, to feasts, and finally to language.

Evans, undoubtedly, would have been interested in what Harmon wrote about the Cree language. Harmon was fluent in the language owing to his wife's being a mixed blood Cree:

> in conversing with my children, I use entirely the Cree, Indian language; with their mother I more frequently employ the French. Her native tongue, however, is more familiar to her, which is the reason why our children have been taught to speak that, in preference to the French language.[38]

In this environment it is easy to understand why Harmon's journal would take the time to investigate the linguistic structures of Cree. Harmon presents a list of the Cree names for the months of the year, and also provides a brief description of the hieroglyphic characters used by the Cree.[39] In these pages Evans surely gleaned valuable information as not only did the material treat a subject with which he was very familiar, language, but it was approached in an religious vocabulary. The short grammar that Harmon provided would have offered evidence for Evans of the strong links between Cree and Ojibwa. In the next chapter I will more fully explore how Evans could take the Cree words and

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[38] Lamb, *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country*, p. 186.

[39] Harmon describes these hieroglyphics as being "for the purpose of conveying information to those who are distant from them… they fix a number of sticks on the ground, leaning towards the place where they [are] encamped." (Lamb, ed., *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country,* p. 232.)

phrases that were provided at Michipicoten, either from Harmon's journal or from the Cree-speaking men at the post, and utilized them to advance his next syllabic study.

A number of other works utilized by Evans were not as directly applicable as Harmon's journal, but nonetheless were important in his conceptualizations of language. Evans makes a brief reference to the work of sixteenth-century philosopher Henry Cornelius Agrippa. This work was located by comparing Evans's citation with Agrippa's *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*.[40] Evans cites this work in his explanation of heraldry, but if we return to this work we see that Agrippa also included a chapter on "the Carracters of the letters" and a second on grammar.[41] Since Evans read chapter eighty-one of this book it is not unreasonable to assume that he also considered what Agrippa had to say about language and grammar in chapters two and three, respectively. Evans was likely influenced by Agrippa's text as a history of letters. In it Agrippa explains how "*Moises* gaue Letters to the Iewes" and how these letters were transmitted to his modern day.[42] Evans followed a similar pattern of thought in his workbook, looking for universals of language that could be used to trace the peopling of the earth. As a monogenist Evans was concerned with finding how languages spread so that he could show how they had evolved from one source. This passage from Agrippa may have also influenced the directions in which Evans took his investigation, as he too considers Hebrew as one of the progenitors of other scripts.

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[40] The citation that Evans gives is "C. Agrippa in his treatise on the variety of sciences, cap. 81." Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Of the Varietie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences,* Catherine M. Dunn, ed. (Northridge: California State University Press, 1974), p. 290.

[41] Ibid., pp. 19-30.

[42] Ibid., p. 19.

On the matter of language two other citations given by Evans are worth a brief mention: Le Comte's *Memoirs and Observations* and Knox's *History of Ceylon.* Father Louis Daniel Le Comte journeyed to China in the seventeenth century and published a highly descriptive book of his travels. It includes observations on the Chinese culture, but more importantly for Evans it includes a study of the Chinese language and written characters. Le Comte was a Jesuit missionary, and part of his study entails the possibility of establishing missions in China. He, like Evans, saw language as an important area of study if this mission was to work. Le Comte included in his linguistic study a syllabic chart of the Chinese language. This bears some resemblance to Evans's syllabic charts, the difference being that Le Comte has not assigned symbols to the syllabic sounds, but rather represents them in Roman orthography.[43]

The seventeenth-century exploration of Ceylon by Robert Knox provided great detail on the future British colony. Knox was commissioned by the East India Company to complete an investigation of the island in the 1680s, and upon his return he submitted a nearly two-hundred-page report. Though Knox's main concern is with the fertility of the land, richness of the resources, and docility of the local people, in chapter nine his report details the "Laws and Language" of the people of Ceylon.[44] Knox, like many of the other authors whom Evans read, provides a brief account of words and phrases in the local

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[43] It should be noted that Evans's first writings, and indeed his first publishing on syllabics, utilized a similar system. See Evans's *Speller and Interpreter,* p. 10 and Le Comte's *Memoirs and Observations Topographical, Physical, Mathematical, Mechanical, Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1698), pp. 176-77. Due to the early date of publication, and the wide circulation of this book, I cannot exclude the possibility that Evans encountered Le Comte before his winter with Cameron's library.

[44] Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon, in the East Indies* (London: Royal Society, 1681), p. 101.

language and a number of large charts with key phrases written in syllabics.[45] Knox also includes a short list of local proverbs that are written in syllabic form followed by a translation, for example "Kiallah tiannah, Degery illand avah oppala hanguand mordy, *If I come to beg Butter-milk, why should I hide my Pan.*"[46] Knox's book would have added another layer of understanding for Evans, as it provided more physical evidence collected from a distant corner of the earth for him to study.

Evans used twenty-eight of the sources available to him at Michipicoten. The parameters of this study preclude the examination of all of them, as does the difficulty in tracking down precise references from vague citations. I have endeavoured to find as many of these works as possible, but in a number of instances have come up short. Appendix nine provides a brief annotated bibliography of the sources I have found, and highlights those that I have yet to locate. Nevertheless, the examples provided above offer a good cross-sectional view of what Evans was reading, and what the potential impact of these sources was.

Often historians have rendered simplistic the missionaries' reasons for being interested in languages and studying them, but Evans's workbook and the varied sources that it uses highlight that a complex interest, a largely scientific interest, in language was desired. Evans's interest in language ran deep, but its ultimate purpose was still firmly focussed on conversion. The next chapter will examine how the writing and research of Evans's workbook impacted his future work and development of Cree syllabics.

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[45] Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon,* p. 105 and pp 108-09.

[46] Ibid., p. 107.

Chapter Six – The Relevance of the Workbook

With the spring thaw under way in May of 1839 Evans left Fort Michipicoten and returned to Upper Canada. Within a year he travelled to Norway House as the newly appointed superintendent of Methodist missions. It would seem that Evans saw that his life had moved on. As such there is no evidence that he continued working on the workbook beyond his winter at Michipicoten. In examining Evans's later journals and correspondence I have found that he never again mentions the workbook. While this lack of evidence may be due to the fact that the majority of Evans's papers were destroyed, it does lead the historian to believe that little else was written on the matter. Thus, the workbook gains new relevance as it highlights Evans's ideas about Aboriginal people and language at a crossroad: after he had completed his first syllabic script in Ojibwa, and before he had ventured west with the perfected Cree syllabic. In this chapter I will argue that the workbook is significant in three key ways: it provides new insights into Evans's ideas on linguistic structures which influenced his later work on Cree syllabics, it highlights Evans's views on Aboriginal people and how those views marked his relationships with Indigenous peoples, and it presents valuable insight into the evangelical missionary mind as missionaries formulated a new empire.

Evans's linguistic innovations

First and most importantly, the workbook is relevant to the study of Evans as a linguist. The research and writing that he did while at Michipicoten may not seem to be directly connected to his syllabic investigations, but if we examine the document closely we can see, through the sources he consulted and the discussion that he presented, that his ideas about syllabics were never far removed from the workbook. What is important to

consider is the nature of the broader language study that Evans was interested in completing and how it surfaced in the writing. The ultimate question that the historian must ask is whether or not Evans's winter of research in Cameron's library shaped the development of Cree syllabic script.

Evans was looking for universals not only in languages, but also in scripts, as he tried to develop a universal syllabic script in which one sound would be invariably represented with one character. If we look at the two syllabic systems that Evans developed (Appendix 2) we can better understand the refining process that occurred between 1836 when he first constructed the Ojibwa syllabic, and 1840 when he presented the Cree. What we see in this comparison is the reduced number of characters and the simplified style that Evans had constructed. In the Ojibwa syllabic he used ten characters to make eighty sounds, while in Cree he has refined it to nine characters and thirty-six sounds. Evans took the Cree language down to its basics, and then built it back up by adding consonant markers for more complex sounds. How did he make these refinements, and is there evidence of his learning more about linguistic simplicities during his time at Michipicoten? If we look to the workbook we can see that a number of instances occur where Evans is clearly gleaning information about language construction from the sources he is reading.

Evans was clear in his hopes for his winter's work. He wrote to the Missionary Society in February of 1839 his plans of completing a "translation of the scriptures into the language of this nation."[1] Evans stipulated that he was not speaking of another translation into the Roman orthography, but rather the establishment of

[1] Evans to the Bible and Missionary Society, 20 Feb. 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 75.

> a uniform orthography… the language never having been reduced in any system at the time when those portions of scriptures which we possess were prepared for the press, each writer followed his own mode of expressing the Roman characters, the various sounds of the Ojibway, a task to which these characters are by no means adequate while retaining their English powers.[2]

Evans was keen to show how ineffective language learning could be remedied with the establishment of a proper syllabic alphabet for Ojibwa. He argued that without a uniform orthography

> an Indian can read no translations or works but such as have been published in his own neighborhood. [sic] A Missionary from Canada cannot read anything published by the Indians of the Sault Ste. Marie, and neither he nor they can profit by what is done by the Missionaries on Lake Superior. It is true each can by dint of application overcome the obstacles; but everyone must see the importance of presenting the nation, if we pretend to teach them to read and write the language, with a uniform method of representing the ideas: until this be done little can be done in the North and West, where the Ojibway must retain his mother tongue, and the only possible method of accomplishing this object appears to be the issuing of an approved Scripture translation in an approved and efficient orthography.[3]

In light of this letter, it appears that Evans was using his workbook as a way of not only further investigating syllabics, but also building an argument to take to the Missionary Society in hopes of winning its full support of his syllabic project. His attempts at obtaining support for publishing a syllabary were denied in 1836, and so he seems to have thrown himself into the workbook, in part, to find other evidence of successful syllabic work. Also evident in this passage is Evans's perception of the syllabic script as merely one step towards civilization. There is an explicit argument that without syllabics the "Ojibway must retain his mother tongue" while implicitly Evans is saying that once the Ojibwa were taught syllabics of their own language the next step would be to advance

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[2] Evans to the Bible and Missionary Society, 20 Feb. 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 75.

[3] Ibid.

them beyond their mother tongue. Because this letter marks the only occasion in any of the records that I have consulted when Evans broaches this subject, it seems as though he is making such a statement for the benefit of his readers: the Missionary society members. Such a statement would also have won supporters in Upper Canada among those men who had aspirations for Canada to extend from coast to coast. In closely examining the workbook we see only evidence of Evans's concern for the Aboriginal language and the need to create a uniform script for it.

In the workbook Evans first built his argument in favour of syllabics by turning to classical literature and linguistic examples from antiquity. He presented evidence of the progress of the languages of the ancients and their development of alphabetic writing, and explained that

> the ancient Phoenician alphabet consisted of 13 letters and that of the Pelasgi which prevailed in Greece until the time of Dencalion 18 letters – and the Tyrrkemian alphabet which was brought into Italy before the reign of Dencalion 13 letters.[4]

Evans wrote out the letters that were included in each of these alphabets, and concluded with scientific evidence of the syllabic character of any language: "Mr. Shindern says that the number of simple sounds in one tongue are 28 – while Dr. Kencheck says we have only 11 distinct species of articulate sounds which even by contraction, prolongation, or composition are increased to only 15."[5] Evans's original Ojibwa syllabary had ten consonant sounds and eight vowel sounds, thus eighty syllabic characters. The evidence of Shindern and Kencheck clearly gave Evans something to aspire to with his own

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[4] Evans, Workbook, p. 36.

[5] Ibid., p. 36. I have been unable to determine who Kencheck and Shindern are as I have not found any relevant publications by either author.

syllabic investigations as he looked for ways to reduce the number of characters required. If Shindern and Kencheck had found evidence that so few sounds could represent a language, then Evans would have to look more closely at the languages he was studying to find the basic sounds. Evans succeeded at this task: in his second syllabary, the Cree, he had reduced the number of characters by half the number that were present in the Ojibwa syllabary. The Michipicoten workbook stands in the midst of that reduction.

In his workbook Evans was not just searching for universals of language for scriptural reasons, but was also looking for linguistic connections that would aid him in his understanding and transmitting of Aboriginal languages. He used the sources he had found, including informants like Finlayson, to thoroughly explore the construction of languages and their syllabic skeletal structures. This in turn led him back to the universal character of language, as Evans's investigation led him to compare how various languages represented sounds with characters. For example, in drawing these comparisons, Evans found that "the natives of Greenland[,]… like the Kamchatkans and the Indians, generally have a great number of long polysyllables. Their words, nouns as well as verbs, are inflected at the end by various terminations without the help of articles."[6] This passage shows that Evans not only sought universals but also undertook a comprehensive examination of the construction of whole languages; that is, he found words and their meaning while also seeking to understand the way the component parts of language functioned. The benefit was that such an investigation not only was valuable to him as he refined his own beliefs about syllabics, but also it aided in supporting his larger argument on the universal character of language.

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[6] Evans, Workbook, p. 20. Kamchatkans refers to Koreans, see *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* vol. xi, (1817), p. 424. There has been in modern times some effort to prove linguistic similarities between Koreans and North American Indigenous groups.

A fearless scholar, approaching subjects of which he was largely ignorant, Evans made the writing and researching of the workbook a linguistic primer. In a letter to his daughter and wife, he wrote,

> I only regret my ignorance of Hebrew-for although I think the affinity to be less between that and the American languages than between the latter and some others, I am sure a knowledge of Hebr. would greatly assist such an investigation. If my Clarrissa in her reading should meet with any striking traits of the Indian character, I hope she will scratch them down in a common place book.[7]

But Evans's lack of knowledge of Hebrew did not severely hinder his investigation. He took several opportunities to compare Hebrew with Ojibwa. In an examination of the former, he found that

> The primitive words, which are called roots, have seldom more than three letters or two syllables. It has 22 letters, 5 vowels – a, e, i, o, u – each vowel has a long and short sound – the former somewhat grave and long, and that of the latter short and acute – there are also semi vowels which serve to connect the consonants, and to make the easier transition from one to another.[8]

Evans was spotting the linguistic structure of this language and studying how words were built in Hebrew, a task that he was also mastering in his study of syllabics. Both syllabaries that he created draw on ideas similar to those that are seen in this passage. The purpose of his syllabic investigations was to invariably represent a sound with a character; if one symbol expressed one sound, the spelling of words could be standardized. Prior to his time in Michipicoten he had constructed the Ojibwa syllabary, but as we see from its eighty characters, a great deal of syllabic streamlining remained to be done.

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[7] Evans to Mary Evans, 2 May 1839, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 80.

[8] Evans, Workbook, p. 21.

Tradition has maintained that Evans had no contact with Cree before his arrival at Norway House in 1840. Arriving on 5 September 1840, he printed the first material in Cree syllabics on 16 October. Apparently, in just forty-one days, Evans learned Cree to a level that permitted him to attach syllabic characters to the language, and simultaneously fashion each individual character out of the lead lining of HBC tea chests.[9] Such a quick production must call into question the previous notions of Evans's invention following his arrival among the Cree. As we have seen in the workbook, in his winter at Michipicoten Evans was investigating the formation of syllabics and was working on ways to better formulate characters to which he had already been exposed, and that he had already attempted to develop. His main goal in his new syllabary was the creation of a set of characters in which each character invariably represented one sound. The Cree syllabary that he unveiled at Norway House achieved that mark, but at some point between his earlier syllabary in Ojibwa and his arrival at Norway House, Evans had reduced the number of characters and refined their usage.

Several possibilities might account for Evans's quick construction of Cree syllabics once he arrived at Norway House. The most general explanation centres on the argument that Evans was a man of exceptional ability. A great deal of previous scholarship attaches itself to this simple portrayal: Evans was of a heightened intellectual capability, a genius, who could develop and print a syllabic text in less than six weeks.[10] Such an interpretation belittles the previous work that Evans had completed on Ojibwa

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[9] Edmund H. Oliver, *The Winning of the Frontier* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930), p. 258.

[10] Peel, *The Rossville Mission Press,* p. 3; Banks, "The Church Missionary Society and the Rossville Mission Press," p. 32.

syllabics and the fact that he had been studying and constructing syllabic scripts for the five years prior to his arrival at Norway House.[11]

On the other side of the spectrum some have argued that Evans merely published and publicized a syllabic script that the Cree already had. Winona Stevenson's argument of the Cree origins of syllabics is problematized by investigations into Evans's winter at Michipicoten. Stevenson too tersely dismisses Evans's previous work in Ojibwa, and, thus, her argument does not consider the clear similarities discernible between Evans's earlier work with the Ojibwa syllabic script and his production of Cree syllabics.[12] If Evans merely appropriated Badger Call's syllabic charts, as Stevenson suggests, he would have had to have access to Cree people at some point in order to learn the script and prepare it for printing. Would sufficient access have been possible in forty-one days? Perhaps, but even Stevenson's argument necessitates the possibility that Evans was working with Cree people prior to 1840. If Stevenson had turned to the archive she would have discovered evidence that Evans had developed, or at the very least had been working on, a new syllabic system, based on his earlier Ojibwa syllabic system, prior to his arrival in Norway House. Stevenson importantly points to Cree oral traditions, but in doing so neglects the abundance of archival evidence, which shows clear lines between Evans's Ojibwa and Cree syllabaries. Stevenson is correct in her contention that Evans's invention in just forty-one days would be "a remarkable feat for anyone who had only

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[11] I say five years here because by 1836 he had already developed an Ojibwa syllabic alphabet in a refined form, thus necessitating that he had been working on it for some period before that.

[12] See appendix 2.

been among the Cree people a few short months."[13] What Stevenson has failed to see is that Evans had many opportunities for building a new syllabic script prior to his arrival in the west, and that although he may not have had exposure to Cree people he had access to the Cree language long before 1840. His exposure to Cree speakers at Michipicoten, and the time that he was afforded to investigate the universals of language and linguistic structures while there were definite boons to his later syllabic study.

On the matter of Evans's ability to develop a new syllabary while at Michipicoten, two matters require emphasis. First, the simplified and streamlined syllabary that Evans presented once at Norway House could have been created in one language and adapted quickly to another. The Ojibwa and Cree linguistic similarities would have made this transition relatively easy; thus, the greater innovation was in the characters. Evans was experienced at syllabics in Ojibwa, and probably picked up the Cree language quickly. His examinations of different characters, from his exposure to Hebrew to his readings on sanskrit characters in the *Asiatick Researches,* helped shape this investigation, and helped him formulate his nine new characters.

Secondly, Evans was clearly not in a purely Ojibwa environment at Michipicoten. The area mixed languages and cultures. Although there is never explicit mention of the linguistic capabilities of the Indigenous people at the post, as we saw in chapter three, there is a possibility that some could speak Cree and Ojibwa. Regardless, Evans, even if it was only through discussions with Finlayson, or Cameron's Native wife, would have seen that the two languages were very closely related. I have no doubt that Evans, even

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[13] Stevenson, "Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Language," p. 19. Stevenson contends that Evans continued to use an interpreter for the remainder of his time in the west, but I have found no evidence of someone acting as interpreter, although he did often travel with local people.

with limited Cree resources, would have been trying to master the language in anticipation of his need for it in the future. We must not forget that Evans was still participating in the mission project, and that he was keen to spread the word to as many people as he could; thus, he would have insisted on learning a new language if exposed to it. Although there is no direct evidence, it can be safely assumed that Evans would have at the very least had Finlayson teach him the rudiments of Cree before he left Michipicoten. As an evangelical he believed that language would be the means to conversion and salvation. He would be very keen to get advance information on the Cree before going west. The need to get started on a new language and syllabic script would not have been lost on him; it was part of his duty as a missionary.

Evans was not alone at Michipicoten; he had the able company of men who were also interested in language, and who had undertaken language studies themselves. As was addressed in chapter three, a number of men working for the company at that post spoke Cree, the most important of these being Nicol Finlayson. Finlayson undoubtedly was helpful to Evans in his initial work on syllabics; not only was he a fluent Cree speaker, but also he had studied the form and structure of other Indigenous languages, specifically the Inuit, while living at Fort Chimo. Evans's references to Finlayson reveal that he was at the very least a discussant, if not a full participant, in Evans's investigation of the universals of language. Finlayson's own interest in language and the close companionship that he held with Evans would lead us to believe that the two men spent many winter hours discussing syllabics and the character of language. However, the degree to which Finlayson was a participant is difficult fully to ascertain. Although the second handwriting in the workbook has not been identified, it is important to note that

this second hand does not appear when Evans is discussing matters pertaining to the specifics of language or syllabics. The second author is almost uniformly reserved for the copying of passages from journals on cultural topics, not on issues of language.

The winter at Fort Michipicoten was relevant because it allowed Evans time to formulate his ideas on the syllabic script. With a vast collection of references, spanning the extremities of the empire, Evans was finally given a reprieve from his regular missionary duties to conceptualize what he had written about as early as his *Speller and Interpreter* (1837): a syllabic script in which each sound is invariably represented by a character. The conceptualizing and theorizing on syllabics was complete; what was now needed was a place to put these ideas into practice.

The Workbook as Investigative Tool

Evans's workbook is also relevant because it provides insight into the mind of an evangelical missionary at a time when missionary societies were expanding their influence in the empire. Evans was just one of dozens of men sent off to the corners of the globe to investigate Indigenous cultures and language, convert Indigenous people, and report back on their success. The workbook provides a clear case study of a particular missionary at a particular time: how he thought, what influenced him, and how he combined scripture with the realities of mission.

A key importance of the workbook is that it is one of the few extant manuscript documents by Evans. Evans's brother Ephraim reported that James's papers were burned prior to his departure from Norway House in 1846. Since there is little historical evidence left, a vast cavern of unknown information about Evans and his pursuits exists. Previous historians, by overlooking the workbook and thereby neglecting an important

piece of evidence, have focussed on the trial transcripts of 1846 and on his published work on language. These foci mean that our understanding of Evans is very narrow: just two aspects of his life. The workbook helps us to see a time when Evans was writing and working as a scholar, and it therefore reveals a great deal about him as a man. It also provides us the opportunity to see Evans in the rough, as an unedited author.

The workbook captures Evans working through ideas, and working to explain the world around him. Although Evans published a number of works and left some correspondence and journals, the workbook explores ideas that never made it into these other types of written work. The published accounts focus on refined ideas, while the correspondence and journals are generally more concerned with diurnal activity. Only in the workbook can we see not just what Evans thought, but, more importantly, *how* Evans thought. In his disjointed writing style and meandering writings he was compiling and balancing his scriptural beliefs and science. We can see how Evans saw the world.

It is relevant that this is a workbook, an unfinished book of ideas. In published accounts authors are often overshadowed by editors or shift their focus toward their perceived audience. MacLaren has emphasized the role that ghost writers and editors played in changing the style, and often the meaning of travellers' accounts.[14] It is also important to consider that by the time an author's book made it to publication ideas were refined and changed to suit the audience. In Evans's workbook, by contrast, we encounter raw writing; all the wrinkles that might have later been ironed out are still present. Thus, when Evans is aggravated by Galindo's claim his retort is rough in structure and pointed in argument. By not completing the workbook Evans has left us

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[14] MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," pp. 45-46.

with a more valuable document, one that helps to better catch the man as he operated at his time, not one that captures the beliefs of an editor. Thus, what we are left with is a pure form of what an evangelical missionary might have encountered in his mission and how he would have understood his surroundings. The great value of this document is that Evans never had it published, that it was allowed to languish without being put to the scrutiny of publication or consigned to flames.

The workbook helps us to understand the complex motives of evangelical missionaries. That they were keen to convert was not surprising, but what comes out of this document is the complex foundations of those beliefs. The enterprise was not merely a matter of conversion for the sake of conversion. Due to its form, the workbook offers a window into the evangelical mind of a man who would shape the colonial project in the west. By closely examining the workbook we can see glimpses of Evans's personality and postulate on how these may have influenced him later in life. The impetuous nature of Evans is highly evident in the workbook. On more than one occasion in his life he charged toward something before properly thinking things through. In his near-death experience on Lake Superior in the fall of 1838, he impulsively ventured onto the lake in late October and was nearly killed by a winter's storm. This rashness is also seen in his hurried trip toward Fort Chipewyan in the fall of 1844, the same trip where Thomas Hassal was accidentally shot. But on a more simple level, this impetuousness is also evident in the workbook as Evans responds tempestuously to the anti-scriptural comments of Galindo. Evans undertakes the workbook project as a way of responding to an idea that he disputed. As time passed and his anger diminished so apparently did his

interest in writing a response. However, on this one occasion, paralysed for an entire winter, he expressed his impetuous nature in written thoughts.

A second important point of consideration is that the workbook highlights how evangelical missionaries balanced Christian doctrine and belief with the emerging field of and faith in science. Evans used his spiritual beliefs as a basis for scientific investigation. Language became the guise by which the missionary could operate in a scientific world. Evans used conversion as the purpose of his study, but he was clearly just as interested in linguistics, the mechanism of conversion. The workbook shows how Evans was able to frame his secular interests with scripture. By focussing on language Evans was able to study something that lay outside the realm of the church, but he was able to maintain the veneer of higher purpose. Evans's non-scriptural interest in language is repeatedly revealed in the workbook. The clearest example is his shift in focus from the early part of the workbook, where he discusses the bible and anti-scripturalism, to the later scientific study of language that he found in the *Asiatick Researches* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* The workbook chronicles Evans's accommodation to the scientific world.

Evans's Future Dealings with Aboriginal Peoples

One of the most relevant uses of the workbook is as an aid to help us understand the way in which the missionary conceptualized Aboriginal people. In the workbook we see Evans writing about Indigenous people, fitting them into his missionary worldview, and charting a course for future development. In the informal writing of the workbook we see Evans's true views of Aboriginal people, and how intricate those views were. Although Evans's greatest concern was conversion, it would be wrong to paint him solely as an evangelist. His workbook's views of Aboriginal people are relevant because they set the

template for answering the big questions about why missionaries were interested in converting Indigenous peoples in the first place. What this workbook reveals is the complexity of missionary views toward Aboriginal people.

The missionary project that Evans undertook in the winter of 1838-39 must not be seen as anything more than what it was: a western expedition to gain a foothold in the Lake Superior district in order to win new converts. However, Evans displayed a great deal of empathy and understanding of Aboriginal culture that at first glance does not seem to correlate to his conversion project. It cannot be doubted that Evans held those Aboriginal people he encountered in high regard, especially those who were open to conversion. Evans's views on how religion would benefit Aboriginal people is best seen in his correspondence when in 1837 he reports the emergence of the Aborigine Protection Society:

> A respectable and very influential society has been formed in England... the day is not far distant when oppression shall cease, and our Indian brethren rise up to stand among us as men. They need only be faithful to God and he will do all things well.[15]

Evans's notions of the stature of Aboriginals and their place in the Christian world are also seen in the workbook. The monogenist belief that Evans held shows in the high regard in which he held Aboriginal people. The workbook strives not only to argue against Galindo's attempt to relegate Aboriginal people to a lower rank but also to prove the universality of mankind.

The workbook reveals important insight into the Aboriginal relationships that Evans would later have. By examining Evans's writing about Aboriginal people we can gain a sense of how he perceived them. He was typical for evangelical missionaries of

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[15] Evans to unknown recipient, 4 July 1837, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4734, file 255, no. 52.

his time in that he wrote about his potential converts with relatively high regard. Evans's level of respect for the Indigenous peoples is shown in his concern for the accurate portrayal of them in his own workbook:

> in attempting to compare the customs of the Aborigines of America with those of the Asiatics, several difficulties present themselves. With both we are but partially acquainted. With regard to those of Asia, we know nothing but by the writings of others, and as it relates to the manners and customs of the Natives of this continent, it may be regretted that in the early intercourse which the whites had with them, too little attention was paid to their ceremonies, while it is very probable that in many cases, their actions and words in their ceremonies were misunderstood or very partially recorded.[16]

This shows that evangelical missionaries were keen to prove that the people they were converting were all part of the greater Christian family. The workbook places on view the complex motives and ideas of evangelical missionaries. Although conversion remained the backbone of the missionary project, missionaries' interests were not always solely fixed on conversion, but rather woven in a complex fabric of Christian belief, practical enterprise, and personal interest.

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[16] Evans, Workbook, p. 7.

Conclusion

Although some of its content and, it is hoped, some of its implications range widely, this study has been a case study. James Evans provides an exceptional example of the early Victorian evangelical missionary, a complex, multifaceted individual with a broad curiosity in Aboriginal people, a strong belief in monogenism, and a hearty interest in the latest scientific investigations. By examining his workbook we can learn a great deal about the role that the evangelical missionary played in expanding the empire in the Canadian west.

The importance of this study has been placing Evans into the context of his times. Evans drew on religious and scientific influences, examining Indigenous languages in a scientific manner to find human universals and, thus, to prove the evangelical belief in monogenesis. Evans was acting not only as a missionary; he was acting as anthropologist, linguist, and scholar. By fully exploring Evans's complexities in his workbook we may better understand the complexities of his life, and the impacts that those complexities had on his mission project and on the colonization of western Canada. Past scholarship has rigidly seen Evans as a missionary, and thus not explored his complexities. This study has highlighted the many influences upon Evans and how they reflect early Victorian evangelical attitudes. The consequent understanding of Evans yields insight into his later work and development of syllabics, as we see that he was reading widely on and investigating into the universals of language.

This study has also importantly focussed on the role of place, the fur trade post at Michipicoten, in Evans's linguistic developments. Trapped at Fort Michipicoten in the winter of 1838-39, in the company of men who spoke Cree and had completed their own

rudimentary linguistic investigations, and with a well-stocked library, Evans was able to undertake a universalist investigation. As well, while thus circumstanced, although he had not yet met a Cree person, Evans was exposed to the Cree language before his arrival at Norway House.[1] Second, we must not succumb to the idea that Evans alone 'invented' the syllabary. There were many Aboriginal people working with Evans on the language before any publications were made. Evans's language acquisition could not have occurred without Aboriginal people working with him.

More recently Hutchinson has argued that Evans's time at Michipicoten was the beginning of the apex of his career, that all of his time prior to the winter of 1838-39 was spent climbing to the apex of his career, and that the workbook was the beginning of a year of important events for Evans.[2] He had begun writing a comprehensive linguistic study, he was appointed as superintendent of the western missions, and he published his first religious material in the Cree syllabic. This same line of thinking emphasizes the long demise that Evans began soon afterward with the accidental shooting death of Thomas Hassal, the charges of sexual misconduct, his recall to England, and his untimely death. Undoubtedly Hutchinson has pointed out the important position of Evans's winter at Michipicoten. However, his analysis takes a great man tack, emphasizing his greatness to a certain point and then the inevitable fall. It displaces emphasis from the later mission and conversion project, separating the linguistic work from its eventual purpose. Rather, I think Evans's winter at Michipicoten speaks to continuity that even in the remotest fur trade post he remained on task and focussed on the missionary project of language and

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[1] George Simpson's *Character Book* provides evidence of just how widely Cree was spoken among fur traders. That Simpson regarded fluency in a Native language highly may be inferred from the pride of place that he accorded it in his entries on colleagues. Williams, *Hudson's Bay Miscellany*, pp. 169-200.

[2] Personal conversation with Gerald Hutchinson, Spring 2003.

ultimately conversion. For Evans, the application of his discoveries would have been just as important as, if not more important than, their invention. We must not obscure the point of Evans's mission project by inaccurately insisting on a tragic structure to his life. In light of the importance of the winter of 1838-39, we must reconsider the genius of the 1840 invention. The traditional notions that Evans created the Cree Syllabic script in a matter of a few weeks upon his arrival at Norway House can now be usefully challenged. Evans did not simply arrive in the west and concoct Cree syllabics; he had been reflecting on the system for a number of years, and had spent the entire winter at Michipicoten building further ideas around it. 1838-39 was not a "lost winter" but rather a winter of research, innovation, and invention; a winter for Evans to take time for discovery. When we reflect on his later accomplishments in this light, a clearer picture of the man and his mission evolve.

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Appendix 1
Evans's Workbook[1]

1.

Every subject of investigation is attended with difficulty, and fewer more so than that of searching into the spread[2] of mankind and the universal population of the globe. The history of the inhabitants of the Eastern hemisphere itself is in many instances wrapped in the mantle of doubtfulness, but that of the aborigines of this vast continent is shrouded in hitherto almost impenetrable clouds of thick darkness, not has it until very recently appeared to interest those who are best qualified to dissipate the night of ignorance and admit through the vista of close examination those rays of light which the torch of laborious research has in many instances shed on perhaps equally dark and mysterious subjects.

It is not my expectation in entering into this work to present such an undoubted evidence of the origin of these tribes, as shall silence ~~the sceptical~~ that class of sceptics [sic] who deny the truth of Divine Writ,[3] as I shall perhaps in several instances be indebted to the Volume of Inspiration for its invaluable and incontrovertible testimony in favour of a single origin to all the scattered sons of Adam. My principle object and in fact my only aim will be to establish on the basis of Scripture truth by such existing evidence as I can discover in opposition to the [? ----tical] sentiment of Juan Galindo & others of the same school, that the continent of America is the cradle of mankind, <u>that the Indians are the descendants of the Asiatic Nations</u>; for whatever may be the seeming antiquity of American movements and cities in Central America respecting which, the above mentioned individual writes and whose anti-scriptural sentiments are found inserted in the second volume of Archeologia Americana ~~the~~ he has as yet advanced no sound agreement for their existence prior to ~~hundreds of existing proofs both monumental and historical of the Asiatic~~ those of the Eastern hemisphere.

I cannot enter on this work without taking a little further notice of this strange production ^ published under the sanction of a Society so respectable, especially as it differs so widely in sentiment as it regards both God and man from the first parts of the Volume which do much credit both to the

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[1] This appendix is compiled as a facsimile copy of the original handwritten workbook. The bolded page number appearing at the top left hand corner signifies the actual page number of the original document, thus, page breaks occur as in the original. Throughout the paper all citations for the workbook are given as the original (bolded) page number. All additions/deletions/corrections are noted in brackets, all relevant strikethroughs have been kept as in the original. Where a word is indecipherable a question mark has been placed in brackets to mark its location, if a crossed out word is indecipherable the question mark in brackets is crossed out. Where interlineations has occurred in the original document I have marked the interlineations with a carrot and have placed that material in a slightly smaller font. Paragraphs that lack indentation have not been standardized, those where a slight indentation is visible are indented. Words that were underlined by Evans have been underlined in the transcription. Where a different handwriting style appears a different font has been introduced to delineate from the normal script.

[2] This word is difficult to decipher, Rev. Hutchinson originally believed it to be "superiority", but with close examination of the original I believe it is the word "spread" written over top of another word.

[3] Divine Writ was a common evangelical reference to the Bible.

2.

head and heart of the compiler the Hon. Albert Gallatin.[4]

His Excellency Don Juan Galindo, says "The Indian human race of America, I must assert, to be the most ancient on the globe. However, the white race, led by a foolish vanity, may assume to be the progenitors of the human family, it is probably that at a very recent epoch it has issued from the region of the Caucasus, inundating Europe, extending itself over America, and with the energy of its youth and talent now invading Asia and Africa. The Indian race on the contrary has arrived at a decrepit old age; it has passed through the stages of youth, manhood, and even decay."

The sceptical sentiments of the author of the above are too clearly expressed to be misunderstood. Nor are they worded in that modest style which becomes one expressing merely an opinion, even had he some reasonable grounds ^ on which to found it, and plausible arguments to advance in its favour – but ~~he doe~~ in the most dogmatic language "I must assert." It may not be amiss to examine for a moment the grounds on which this unqualified assertion is made, which I shall give in his own words, and leave the candid reader to judge whether in the Inquisition of Truth and Reason, he is justified, for doubtless had he published these sentiments in Spain a few years ago his Inquisitional countrymen would have pronounced them insufficient to have delivered him from the rack and the[5]

He adds, "The new Governments of Spanish America incorporate the Indians into their political associations, and endeavour to make them participate in the blessing of civilization, but this policy, ~~is vain~~ however honorable to its authors, is fruitless; the Indian race is in the last centuries of its existence, and must soon disappear from the earth." But certainly this close observer of the "Indian race" might have accounted for the backwardness of the Indians in associating themselves in politics, ~~or even~~ religion, or civilization with a "Spanish Government", without declaring their disinclination to be a sure precursor of their speedy extinction. Had he cast his eye backward to 1530 he would have found the secret of their indifference and without looking into futurity for a consequence, when, to use his own words, "the victors were so careless of everything except gain, and so dispossessed and tyrannized over

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[4] Albert Gallatin was an American statesman having held a number of political offices including the Senate, Congress, and had served as Secretary of the Treasury before being a candidate for the Vice Presidency in 1824. For Canadians he is probably best remembered as the American negotiator in the Oregon border crisis of the 1820s. For more detail on Gallatin see Frederick Merk, *Albert Gallatin and the Oregon Problem: A Study in Anglo-American Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950); and John Austin Stevens, *Albert Gallatin* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898).

[5] Evans did not complete this sentence, rather he simply inserts the next idea following.

3.

the wretched aborigines that even the memory of this place (Copal)[6] is almost obliterated " - perhaps not entirely from the minds of the natives, to whom the graves of their fathers long remain sacred -the "Indian race" have not forgotten the doing and perfidy of a Cortes. [Indecipherable heading]

The first conquerors frequently massacred the natives out of wantonness, and even the priests incited them to those acts of ferocity. "Undoubtedly these inhuman soldiers frequently shed blood without even an apparent motive; and certainly their frantic missionaries did not oppose these barbarities as they ought to have done." "All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were ill fed; they had no wages given them, and services were required of them under which the most robust men would have sunk." Enc. Brit. Art. Mexico.

Bartholomew de las Casas declares that the Spaniards at a very early period had destroyed 15,000,000 of Indians. His countrymen ventured to censure his severity of style, but never convicted him of exaggeration [sic]. His writings have stamped on ~~his~~ ^those Christian barbarous [sic] ~~countrymen~~ a disgrace, which time has not and never will efface from the memory of nations far remote, and much less ^ from that of the poor, oppressed, and wandering ~~offspring of~~ Indian race. Now I leave the reader to determine ~~which is~~ ^ whether it is not most probable that, the Indians having such a vivid recollection of their former wrongs, detest, and perhaps dread the Spanish community and therefore refuse to be incorporated into their "political associations"; ~~or~~ than that the Author of their existence has determined their utter and speedy extinction. ~~and therefore they~~

But how fallacious this sceptic's [sic] reasoning appears in another view - He concludes that because as he ~~asserts~~ considers "the Indian race has arrived at a decrepit old age", has passed through the stages of youth, manhood and decay "is in the last centuries of existence, and must soon disappear from the earth, for all which we have his unsupported ipsi dixib, that therefore they are the most ancient on the globe. On just such false reasoning does infidelity generally guild its tottering fabric. Who does not discover that ~~their~~ the very argument which ~~this~~ is here made use of must prove just the reverse of that which he deduces therefrom [sic]. If the decay and extinction of a nation proves its priority of existence surely some of the Asiatic Nations and even those of Africa have in history this claim for some

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[6] Copal is a reference to a pre-Cortez city in Mexico.

4.

of them have arrived at a decrepit old age; passed through the stages of youth, manhood and even decay and have now no longer an "existence" having already taken the lead of the "Indian race" and disappeared from the earth.

That the "white race" have ever had the "foolish vanity" to ~~suppose themselves~~ assume ~~that they~~ to be the progenitors of the "human family", I am not aware, but certainly modest historians are not in the habit of asserting that they are. But that they possess "foolish vanity" sufficient to guard them against the sentiments of Don Juan Galindo, and to prefer the well founded, rationally supported, strongly corroborated testimony of Divine Inspiration, I may venture to affirm.

"Power and civilization travelling westward," ~~the~~ says this author, "China the most eastern and most ancient nation of the Transpacific hemisphere, is about to expire. The Indian race, predecessor in civilization of the Chinese is even more that they in an old age incapable of regeneration." It is only necessary to say that in support of the ~~three~~ four assertions made in this short paragraph, the author has offered nothing unless it can be found in what immediately follows "The Mosquito shore though inhabited by free Indians from any foreign yoke, are surrounded by civilized commonwealths and colonies, while the neighbouring British authorities have constantly provided for the education of their principle men still remains in a degrading state of barbarity." These facts even allowing them their full force ~~neither~~ cannot prove that ~~"Power & civilization are traveling westward~~ "China" is the most ancient nation of the Transpacific hemisphere, that it is "about to expire", that the "Indian race" is "predecessor in civilization of the Chinese", ~~and~~ nor ~~was~~ that it "is even more than they in an old age, incapable of regeneration."

Whether China is the most ancient nation of the Northern Hemisphere I pretend not to determine, nor am I able to conjecture on what grounds Don Juan has so positively assured us that it is about to expire, unless it be that it is at present like several other nations disturbed by internal strife and rebellion - its population is doubtless as numerous, as wealthy, as united; ~~and perhaps more when~~

5.

as at any former period, and certainly commerce and maritime enterprise are at a higher pitch than at any former period.

And much more at a loss am I to conjecture on what grounds he can declare that "the Indian race" is "predecessor in civilization of the Chinese" - than which in my humble opinion a more absurd sentiment could not have been uttered. In the first place it is anti-scriptural - with some, this may be no objection to its truth - but with me, as with every believer in the authenticity of the Sacred Volume it is an insufferable difficulty. Many search into science and dive into hidden mysteries and, in the dark grope their way half bewildered until they perhaps accidentally fall upon some object which directs them to that ~~stream~~ beam which ~~flow from~~ is emitted from the Source of Light, and when by that they are enables to discover at length with clearness, what they before sought in vain they rejoice that they have made a discovery which corroborates the truth of Revelation, when in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, they are indebted to Revelation for the discovery.* Every new mine that is opened in science, and every veil which is moved in the Temple of literature presents new and [indisputable] table testimony to the sacred and the profane History of the origin and spread of mankind -Philosophy - particularly Astronomy and Geology have lately added, if I may so speak, a laurel to the brow of Moses as a scientific and philosophical historian - the opening of ~~the~~ Hindoo[7] literature, instead, as so many anticipated, of throwing a gloom over the Sacred Annals, tends to establish their authenticity - and shall we allow one, who ~~to use his own words has no~~ does not even condescend to assign his reasons - to declare that "the Indian human race of America" is "the most ancient on the globe?" that it is predecessor in civilization to the Chinese? which is according to his admission the most ancient nation of the Transpacific Hemisphere. ~~; thus giving the lie to the most~~

Now I am aware that this author has worded his paragraphs with some caution - perhaps anticipating that his opinions might excite suspicion respecting his orthodoxy, but in spite of ~~every~~ all his circumspection he has betrayed

* [Addition attached on a small piece of paper]
And under the light of which had they commenced them search they would have saved themselves many a vain conjecture & abortive endeavour after truth.

[7] Evans uses the common nineteenth-century spelling of Hindu, or Hindoo, to refer to all people from India.

6.

his real sentiments – ~~for admitting that he~~ for he declares, "to the primeval civilization of America, we must assign a great and indefinite antiquity" and what is strange immediately adds, as if to prove that his sceptical opinions are without foundation, "of course no palpable remains or monuments of that epoch now exist." We may naturally enquire, on what does he found his opinion? ~~It~~ If no palpable remains or monuments of their "great and indefinite antiquity" "now exist", have the Indian race any ~~indefinite~~ traditions of their "indefinite antiquity" certainly they have not: a few centuries ~~surely~~ covers their traditions respecting their civilization even in ~~Mexico~~ the most enlightened part of the continent. Do their monuments, their sculpture, or their paintings prove an indefinite antiquity? Certainly they do not. Such as have been deciphered only reach back to the third and fourth century of the Christian Era, and although some of those southern nations had made great advances in some of the fine arts as sculpture, painting, casting ~~silver~~ gold and silver, & in architecture, still the fact that they were destitute of characters whereby to express their ideas except phonetic hyerogliphics, ~~as well as many~~ and that they had made but little ~~actu~~ progress in learning, compared with the Chinese, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Hindoos, or even the Greeks and Romans, and the more modern nations of the Old World, argues strongly ~~argu~~ against their "indefinite antiquity."

7.

In attempting to compare the customs of the Aborigines of America with those of the Asiatics, several difficulties present themselves. With both we are but partially acquainted. With regard to those of Asia, we know nothing but by the writings of others, and as it relates to the manners and customs of the Natives of this continent, it may be regretted that in the early intercourse which the whites had with them, too little attention was paid to their ceremonies, while it is very probable that in many cases, ~~those who [?] most abo~~ their actions and words in their ceremonies were misunderstood or very partially recorded.

Another consideration which must in no small degree effect the certainty of conclusions drawn from correspondent customs, is the remote antiquity at which these people must have separated, and consequently the ~~great~~ possibility and even probability that their manners and customs may have each undergone great changes, so ^ much so in some cases, as scarcely to bear, ~~in some instances~~ without a stretch of the imagination, that analogy to each other which would be desired as a proof of a common origin.

I shall here attempt a comparison between the customs and ceremonies of the Eastern and Western hemispheres in their treatment of the dead, and flatter myself that in this attempt I shall be able to offer such presumptive evidence as shall at least leave room for the well-grounded conjecture in favour of an Asiatic ~~origin~~ emigration to this Continent.

I shall in pursuing my enquiries - first ~~notice~~ present the customs of the ~~Americas~~ New and then those of the ~~either~~ Old World - and draw such conclusions as the corresponding circumstances may appear to justify.

The first extract which I shall make is from the Journal of Daniel William Harmon Esq. - a partner of the North West Company whose long residence among the Indians, intimate acquaintance with their language, and extensive travels, fully justifies every confidence in his statements respecting the inhabitants of the North West. He writes as follows, page 179

8.

An Indian came here, who says, that one of their chiefs has lately died, and he requests that we furnish a chief's clothing to be put on him, that he may be decently interred; and also that we would supply a small quantity of spirits, for his relations and friends to drink.

9-14 blank

15.

Section 1st

[...nal] Remarks: Eskimaux[8]

The most northerly district of the Continent is inhabited by that tribe of the aborigines generally known as Eskimaux which word does not appear to have any ^ particular affinity to their language but is undoubtedly of Algonquin extraction and very probably applied to all the whole inhospitable coast of the northern ocean who readily devour raw fish or flesh, the word being composed of Auhke, ^ raw, and ahmivan, he eats. Thus the true import of the word is like the generality of Indian names expressive of some characteristic feature and signifies Raweaters. There is another ~~distinction~~ root from which this word might be derived which is from Ahskik, a seal, and ahmevan, he eats, which were the word pronounced and generally written in English, Eskimaux would be the most probable ^ as seal eaters but the pronunciation is of course to be found in the Algonquin family from whence it is derived, and would be more correctly written in Roman characters ~~if the E be retained in the~~ Ashkimwaw. ~~Such is the~~

This ~~case~~ portion of the American family is distinguished in some respects from all those who are found in more southern latitudes. One ^ striking peculiarity is that while all the aborigines appear to possess an aversion to beards, and whiskers, this people pride themselves in a flowing beard and bushy whiskers. The former not infrequently reaching nearly to the belt, and ~~giving them~~ divesting them of that effeminate appearance in the eyes of Europeans which marks perhaps all the ^ other tribes of N. Amer. Their general stature is about five feet eight or ten inches. Some however are found, particularly to the westward, nearing six feet, they are for the most part stout, and well-made and perhaps as manly a race as are to be found in the Western Hemisphere.

The Eskimaux are scattered over an extensive country extending from the eastern Coast of Greenland to the Bering Strait, and the central division from the sixtieth degree of North Latitude as far as discoveries have ~~as yet~~ been made northward those on the East Coast bordering on the Atlantic [?] Labrador to the 50 of North latitude, and even on the shore of the

[8] Evans uses the common nineteenth-century spelling of Eskimo, Eskimaux, to refer to the Inuit of the Canadian North.

16.

Gulf of St. Lawrence this people are found; nor is it by any means unreasonable that the Island of Newfoundland was formerly inhabited by the same, as it is divided from their present haunts by ^ only the narrow of Belle Isle, which might be easily crossed by them in their or skin canoes. I am informed by Mr. Finlayson who has resided on the North East Coast several years that they not infrequently cross the Hudson's Straits in these fragile draft with perfect safety.[9] This ^ conjecture is rendered more probable from the fact in the year 1001 land was discovered by an Icelander who was driven far south, even beyond Cape Farewell, which ~~was not improbable may have been the Island of Newfoundland~~ land was afterward colonized, and it is reported to have been inhabited by dwarfs. Were this land the Island of Newfoundland we may conclude that the dwarfish race here spoken of were the same with those who are present occupy all the North Eastern Coast.

The Eskimaux ~~extend~~ occupy from the fiftieth degree of North Latitude on the Atlantic entirely round the northern shore of the American continent and Bering's Straits, and then southward along the Pacific to the fifty eighth or sixtieth degree.

~~The next tribe which~~

The Eskimaux are an exceedingly dirty people. Their principal food consists of seals and fish which they ^ sometimes devour first as they take them from the water. ~~Whether from superstition or from a peculiarity of appetite~~ One practice which among the ^ even the semi-civilized portion of mankind cannot fail to excite disgust, is that whenever an Eskimaux takes a fish from his net or line he instantly forces out the eyes and swallows them. Whether this practice arises from habit, appetite, or superstition I cannot determine, but am inclined to attribute it to the latter as it is a prevailing custom wherever the Eskimaux is found.

The winter house or ~~Ekluse~~ Igloo is composed entirely of snow.[10] ~~consisting of one or more apartments~~ The walls are thick and ~~inside~~ lined inside with mats and furs, and made as perfectly close that ~~when even when~~ notwithstanding the thermometer ranges from forty to 50 below zero, the occupants, although without fire save ~~their lamp~~ the flame of the lamp, suffer no inconvenience from the ^ inclemency of the weather. The ~~Ekluse~~ Igloo not infrequently consists of two or more apartments, one of which is the sitting room and kitchen, and the other the bed room or apartment in which the family lodge. These are connected by a snow passage leading one to the other. They have also sometimes thus connected a store room where the provision or winter stock is kept.

In some instances the residence of several families are

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[9] The reference here is to Nicol Finlayson.

[10] An addition is here attached to page 16, which reads: "~~The Igloo is not~~ nor is it merely a pile ~~or~~ hillock ~~of snow~~, but a regular piece of architecture. It is composed of blocks of snow ~~regularly~~ hewn out of the heavy & solid drifts. This is generally performed with a sabre and each piece is squared ~~& prepared~~ for its place in the building before ~~it is placed therein~~ laid therein."

17.

so constructed that ~~by one entrance~~ all the inhabitants of a small subterraneous village can have intercourse through a passage under the snow. This is sometimes not less than one hundred yards in length with snow huts on each side. The main avenue is generally about five feet in height so that a person may walk nearly erect; but the passages leading to the store rooms are much lower, and must be entered on all fours.

The lamp as ~~I have~~ was before hinted is the only fire, which warmed these seemingly miserable hovels, and consequently the only means of cooking their provisions. It consists generally of a stone in the form of a Turkish turban, or half moon. This is filled with oil from the seal or whale in which is inserted a wick of moss extending along the edge from horn to horn in the concave. Over this the kettle is boiled and all the culinaries ~~of the kitchen~~ transacted.

Nearly all the Eskimaux's furniture like his habitation, is composed of snow, the table or stand on which his lamp is placed, and even his bedsteads are snow, which has been left ~~or supplied in building~~ to the height of about two feet on one side the room, and thereon are spread mats made from the willows, which serve the double purpose of seats by day and a couch by night ~~and even his~~ ^ and what might be least [?][11] chimney ~~is of the same~~ ^ itself is builded of ~~the same~~ this evanescent material. When the oil fails, a piece of blubber is suspended by the lamp which through the effect of the flame continues to drop and supplies it with oil. The care of this most useful article belongs to the woman, and she consequently derives an additional profit there from for in trimming the lamp she constantly licks her fingers and thus partakes of the richest and most delicious of Northern dainties; in fact there appears to be nothing in nature however disgusting, to which the palate of man cannot be reconciled by habit, and yet, it would not be difficult for an epicure to determine ~~whether~~ that the ~~fat of the[?] at Wood's in London~~ oil of the olive in Italy, is preferable to the ~~fat~~ oil of a hog ~~at Astors in New York~~ in America, and even to the oil of the seal, or whale in the snow mansion of an Eskimaux.

The general impression which would be made by the above description of the cold-walled abode of these people, and the simple and

[11] These carrot additions are written in graphite; this is the only time that Evans uses graphite in the entire workbook.

18.

seemingly insufficient means of warming them would at once impress the mind with an idea that they must necessarily be very cold and comfortless, but the fact is; that they are so perfectly air tight that the heat is sometimes insupportable and renders it necessary occasionally to open a sort of ventilator to admit the air. The temperature within may be determined as not uncomfortably cold since the occupants seldom sleep in their clothing - and the women wear during the night no part of theirs save the petticoat.

~~That the~~ Whether the Eskimaux are of the same origin with the tribes of the great Algonquin family, ~~may doubtless with tolerable certainty be inferred from~~ I leave others to determine. The following similarities are found to exist in the dialects -

1 Eskimaux	8 Ojibway	6 Chippewayans	9 Ottawas
in weet	~~innanong~~ inninny	dinny	aninnay man
winqua	equa	chequois	equa woman
~~pattikee~~ pittakee bow	millikwave		mittikwaub - bow
keiluk	ke shik		keeshik
takpoke	tippik		
Appoo snow -	soogepoo it snows		
ikkooteaf	ishkoota	———————	fire
mikkee dog	mikkee dog barks		
wook they	wugh		
~~ooke~~ ~~oke He~~	~~foo~~ ~~ookee~~		
nakka no	kah no		
annee to go	innee, or unnee to go (inseperable)		

The above are collected from a comparison of 132 Eskimaux words, and perhaps shows sufficient similarity to prove that the two people at some remote period have had one common origin, but the appearance, manners, and air of the Eskimaux differs widely from any of the Indian tribes of more Southern latitudes. He is more manly in his person, and in his general deportment, free from that bashfulness and silent behaviour which characterizes the other American savages. When he meets a person to whom he is a stranger, he without fear throws up both his hands, presenting their palms as a token that he is unarmed and consequently friendly, and will not advance a step unless the person met, returned

19.

~~The Indian tribes which border on the Eskimaux~~
the sign or gives him some ~~other~~ equally expressive token of good will and peaceful intentions. As soon as this is done, he with the greatest freedom advances and gives his hands and his sincere friendship. ~~He has it~~ He places the most implicit confidence in promises, and is scrupulously careful to fulfil any made in his part. When he meets with a person with whom he has been formerly acquainted, he without any hesitation advances and presents his hand, saying ~~"I am such and~~ "My name is so-and-so." In this respect the Eskimaux differs from all the inhabitants of the forest & prairie ^ to whom no greater insult can be offered ~~to an Indian~~ then to ask him his name. And should a person unacquainted with his aversion for telling it, ignorantly ^ make the inquiry, ~~of a man [?] woman but [?] his name~~ he will ^ in all probability receive no answer ^ from the person himself, but ~~probably~~ possibly some ~~other indian~~ bystander will give the desired information. When the Eskimaux approached the shore, he immediately lands if acquainted, or if a stranger, throws up his hands as before mentioned, never betraying that timidity and suspicious fearfulness which is observable in others, who will on nearing the beach ~~shore~~ lay on their paddles, and after landing not infrequently sit on the bank until someone ^ alike sneakingly advances, and invites them to enter the wigwam.

20.

(China) The Jesuit Triganticus in his narrative of the expedition of Catholic missionaries into China, gives this particular Grace, "Before the Chinese place themselves at the table for partaking libation of an entertainment, the person who makes the feast sets a vessel of gold or silver or marble or some other valuable material on a charger full of wine, which he holds with both his hands and then makes a low bow to the chief person at the table -He then proceeds from the hall or dining room, or porch or entry - and turning his face to the south pours out his wine as a thankful libation to the Lord of Heaven."

North Papayi - West Greenland people in the 8th Century - by Icelanders driven on the coast and called Greenland from its verdant appearance. Where [?] churches, convents, bishops etc. existed - Commerce between Gr & Norway until 1406 when the last bishop was sent over after which all correspondence was cut off.

The natives are a savage, barbarous people agreeing in customs, garb, and appearance with the Esquimaux about Hud. Bay. These regions have since become inaccessible by sea from the vast quantities of ice driven from Spitzbergen or East Greenland. One would imagine that there must have been considerable alteration in the Northern parts of the world since the 15th Century from the fact that the coast of Greenland has now become almost inaccessible although formerly visited with very little difficulty.

Like the Kamchatkans and the Indians generally they have a great number of long polysyllables. Their words, nouns as well as verbs, are inflected at the end by various terminations without the help of articles (Greenland).

The Hottentots suck out bones from the body and thereby cure disease.

Smoking Hookah - the Hookah is a pipe of a singular and complicated construction through which tobacco or opium is smoked through water. One takes a whiff draws up large quantity of smoke puffs it out of his nose and mouth and passes the Hookah to his neighbour. Thus it goes the round of the whole circle.

Cutting off fingers - (New Holland) It is customary for the women to cut off the two lower joints of the little finger when they burn their dead.

21.

Hebrew) The Hebrew appears truly sublime, ~~How~~ and perfectly regular, particularly in its conjugations. Indeed properly speaking it has but one conj'n but this is varied in seven or eight different ways which has the effect of so many conjugations, and affords a great variety of expressions to represent by a single word the different modifications of a verb, and many ideas, which in the modern, or even many of the ancient languages cannot be expressed without a pariphrasis.

The primitive words which are called roots have seldom more than three letters or two syllables. It has 22 letters, 5 vowels - a, e, i, o, u - each vowel has a long and short sound - the former somewhat grave and long, and that of the latter short and acute - there are also semi vowels which serve to connect the consonants, and to make the easier transition from one to another.

S in Ojibway and Shin in Heb.

22.

The correspondence which exist between the Customs manners and languages of the Indians and the Asiatic is too apparent to be overlooked, and the subject only requires more attention to establish beyond a doubt even without the testimony of Holy Writ that the former have at some remote period formed part of the great Eastern family. I shall here note a few similarities.

Religion, even pagan, must have retained from its sacredness some vestige of its ancient ceremonies.

When the Ojibways of Lake Superior and Huron make a feast the women prepare the ground, while the men hunt for provisions. Notice is given by sending sticks to their friends as cards of invitation. When the day arrives, all assemble. The drummers on the towaegun and the rattles of the Shesequia are seated and commence beating and shaking and singing in a sort of concert keeping time with the music, while all the rest of the company dance around, their movement is a sort of monotonous step never varying and never allowing the toe of the foot behind to come forward beyond the heel of the one in front.

The first comparison which I shall venture to brave is between the Indian Medai Conjuror or juggler, and who is considered to be the priest of his tribe, although generally the most profligate character in the band, and the Demanno Oracle or priest of an Asiatic tribe inhabiting the hills in the districts of Bhagalpur and Rajamahall. The account of the latter is taken from the fourth vol of Asiatic Researches. With regard to the former I write from personal knowledge as well as from information received from the most respectable and creditable persons.

The Demanno or Dewassy obtains his power from the Great Spirit, who he pretends appears to him nightly and braids his hair. At the time of his inspiration he pretends to be frantic, proceeds to the unfrequented jungle or forest where he remains seven or nine days and is supposed to be fed by the deity. This God has sometimes seated him on a large snake, or made him put his hands into a tiger's mouth without fear of any danger. He emerges from his retreat and brings with him a large plantain tree which he has torn up by the roots. This he places on the roof of his house. He then returns and brings a see ge tun, again and brings a muck mun tun and lastly a see ge tun all of which he, without human assistance places on the roof of his house and professes by divine aid to affect these wonders.

On the night of his return he professes that the Great Spirit has appeared to him, and desired him to make a sacrifice

23.

with prayer.

Having thus passed his novitiate, and obtained the reputation of a good Demanno he is invited by his chief to a buffalo feast, who puts round his neck a ~~string of~~ red silk thread with five cowries strung on it beseeching Bedo Gossiah that he may have the power to restore health to the sick, exorcising such as are possessed of devils, and that all his predictions may come true.

There is no fixed number of Demannos for the duty of a village. Some have several, while others have none. And now for initiation of the Indian Medai or Conjurer, who is also considered the priest of his village or band.

According to the account of an old Medai at ~~the Sault Ste. Marie~~ Mackinaw who a few years ago embraced Christianity and whose conduct since his conversion entitles him to credit, the Medai of the Ojibway Indians corresponds so nearly than an account of the former would almost describe undeviatingly the process of his inauguration to the Priestly office. He states that his first impression that he was to act as a Medai were made by dreams in which the Great Spirit or Munnedoo appeared to him, and informed him that he was to be a great Medai. Upon this he commenced fasting and at one time ate nothing for nine days - that he spent this time in the woods in a little camp which he had erected for the purpose. That here he received by dreams all his knowledge and the assurance that he should hereafter possess great power and that a particular bird the hawk was to be his protector and instructor. He was conducted in his dreams to a great cave ~~where with~~ which he entered by a most difficult ~~[?]~~ ^ footpath on the side of a precipice, that he was several times intimidated through fear, until strengthened by his conductor etc. See Tract by our Miss V.

24.

The feasts of the Asiatics correspond as minutely with those of the Am Indians that an exchange of some few words which differ on account of the countries ~~that~~ would adapt the account exactly to the latter.

When the Manngy sacrifices a buffaloe, [sic] which is in the month of Mang or Phagun annually, he fixes a day when his vassals attend, each of whom contribute a portion of grain, oil or spirits for the festival.

A large branch of the Muckmun tree is cut and planted before the Manngy's door.

The head of the Buffaloe [sic] is the Manngy's portion ([?])

In the Chitaric festival a cow and a piece of red silk is provided, and the musicians (drummers) being taken into the house, the feast is served, of which all present partake as soon as the Chief has thrown away a little of each dish in the name of Chalmad.

It is a custom through all the hills of Bhagalpur to throw a little of their meat away at each meal, previous to eating, and the same rule is applied in drinking.

The Bandareens, whose particular province is to serve out the toddy, or spirits, perform that office, and the chiefs having spilled a little in the name of Chalmad for a libation, the party drink and sing all night, in praise of Chitariah Gossaih the musicians, or rather drummers, beating at the same time. Should anyone sing a different song, he is fined a fowl.

During the feast ~~, a paint~~ ^ every part of the bodies ~~of some of the worshippers~~ ^ which is exposed Is spotted with a mixture of turmeric powdered, and the heart, or white part of Indian corn which is finely powdered for the purpose.

In the feast of Demany Gossaih, a hog, rice, red paint and distilled spirits are indispensable.

Kull Gossaih is worshipped in seed time. The necessary articles a hog, a goat, spirits, rice, red paint and oil. Meat is thrown away and spirits spilled in the name of Gomo Gossaih and Kull Gossaih, when all feast with the drummers in attendance Gossaih is worshipped. ~~When Gomo Gossaih is worshipped~~ The Demanno ~~pictured~~ ^ professes that the blood which he pretends to drink in great quantities digests in his throat, and does not pass into his stomach.

At the feast of Gomo Gossaih invitation is out to the relations and friends, and to mark the number of days which will intervene.

25.

small strings are sent with a knot for each day, which being daily cut, when one only remains the guests assemble.

In the interim the person providing the feast is ^ engaged in collecting materials, distilling spirits, such as rice, oil, red paint, etc. The Manngy having thrown out some meat and poured out a libation, he and the Chiefs eat and drink. The drummers, the supplicant (or provider of the feast) and the drummers repair to where the trees are laid lengthwise east and west, which are spotted with red paint, and bound with red silk thread.

In worship of Chumdah Gossaih, three score seers of rice, two of red paint, fifteen of oil must be provided, about 12 rupees must be expended in spirits, peacock tail feathers, nine score of nataria trees and some red stones which are ground for paint and also some charcoal. The invitation as in the feast of Goma Gossaih.

The bark of the Nataria has about a cubit of the lower end blackened with charcoal, another cubit is left of the natural colour, and then painted red, and ornamented with peacock tail feathers.

When the Kosare is reaped in November a festival is held before eating the new grain, a libation is made and a little of the Kosarene is thrown away in the name of all their gods and of their dead.

When the takallone (Indian corn) is ripe in August or September there is also a festival.

The following account is from Clark Comment on the 26 verse of the 18th chapter of 1 Kings.

26.

Their religion was a compound of a few truths received by tradition; and the dictates of superstition and ignorance. While they believed in a plurality of gods, who had formed the different nations of the world, and made a god of whatever they believed to be great, powerful or hurtful, they conceived that there was one God known by the name of Kicktan and Woonand who was superior to all the rest, and dwelt in the southwest regions of the heavens, who was entitled to the respect and gratitude of mankind, that he created the original parents of mankind. But the principle object of their veneration was Hra- Camock or the evil deity. To him they frequently presented, ^ as offering and sacrifice the most valuable articles they possessed, and his favour they were most desirous of obtaining. With him the powan or priests pretended to have familiar intercourse; and to maintain their authority, they asserted that he often appeared to them in the form of a man, a deer, an eagle or a snake and that they understood the method of securing his regards, and of averting his judgments. Images of stone were also formed and ascribed religious homage. One of these is now in the Museum at Hartford. Sacred stones also exist in several places, particularly in Middleton to which every Indian as he passes makes religious obeisance. Miss. Record London edition p.8

At p.64. Several of the Indians died after a dancing frolic. The Indians were persuaded it was the effect of poison and resolved to apply to the invisible powers for the discovery of the murderers. About 40 were assembled in the wigwam of one of their chiefs. The house was swept clean, large fires were kindled and the Indians sat around them from one end of the camp to the other, except that in one part a space of about five or six feet was left for the powans or conjurers. ~~The old chief~~ Each of the Indians had a stick about 18 inches long, one of them split at the end, which he held under his legs. The older priest lifted up his eyes to heaven, and spoke with great earnestness. They then began to sing and rap with their sticks. In the meantime, the oldest powan was sitting and talking and acting a different part from the rest. This lasted about an hour.

The priest then rose from his seat, threw off his clothes except a flap about his middle ([?]) and in this naked state passed from one end of the tent to the other, with his eyes closed, appearing in the most exquisite agony, and employing such frightful and distorted gestures as it is scarcely possible to imagine. This continued about another hour. A second, a third and fourth acted the same part. In this manner they spent the whole night except a few short intervals when they either smoked a pipe, or [?] upon a body and danced. They did not appear to gain their object.

Page 99 "They were at this time making preparation for celebrating a great idolatrous feast on the following day. Having provided no fewer than ten fat deer for this purpose, about a hundred of them assembled in the evening and danced around a large fire which

27.

they had previously kindled. During the dance they throw fat into the fire which sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height which at the same time they yelled and shouted in the most hideous manner. After continuing this exercise nearly the whole night, they devoured the flesh of the animals, and then retired to their huts.

Page 100 about noon they assembled in their powwow in order to discover by their charms and incantations the cause of some sickness which had raged among them. They made wild ~~fast and~~ ridículous and frantic motions; sometimes saying something howling, extending arms to the utmost, spread their fingers and appeared to push with them, moved their sides as if in the greatest anguish, distorting their faces, turning up their eyes, puffing and grunting. They chanted [?] and rattled with as much ardour and energy as if they determined to awaken the powers beneath and extort the secret from them. This continued for three hours, ^ and when completely exhausted the meeting broke up.

In this part of the country [?] met with a zealous performer of the Indian religion, or rather, a notion of what he conceived the ancient mode of worship. He presented himself in his priestly garb consisting of a coat of bear skin hanging down to his toes, a bear skin cap on his head and pair of bearskin stockings on his feet, a large wooden face one half painted black and the other a tawny colour with an extravagant mouth cut away. In his hand was the instrument he employed for music and a tortoise shell with some corn in it fixed on a piece of wood for a handle. As he came forward he beat time with his rattle and danced with all his might. His appearance and gesture were unlike all that is human. He had a house in which were several images and the ground was beaten almost as hard as a rock by his frequent and violent dancing. p. 101

A young female having died in the Choctaw Nation in 1817 it was decided that she died of "witch-shot" and large reward offered for the discovery of the offender. A conjurer was consulted and he denounced a Chickasaw woman named Ele kee as the witch who had done the deed. The Father and a number of men immediately murdered her. When buried the coffin being lowered down the people bought all her clothing and what little money she had, and even the skins that formed her [?] put them into the place and filled it. The reason of this was the Choctaws have some vague notion of a hereafter and suppose their friends will have need of the same things in a future state, that they most value in the present life. A few years ago dogs, horses, and cattle were shot and buried with their owner. It is painful to add that many murders have been committed for supposed witchcraft every year.

28.

Totems

The Indians of this continent have almost universally some distinguishing heraldic characteristics or as they term it totemism, by which the different tribes or families of the same nation, are kept distinct.

The totem does not mark their political or geographical situation, they have doubtless changed their position from time to time as they appear to have been from time immemorial a wandering and unsettled race.

Each nation is divided into tribes of families and these distinguished from each other, although living in the same country or village by its own characteristic. Thus ~~interspersed the~~ among the Choctaws there are two grand divisions of the nation, each of which is subdivided into four tribes. Each tribe has the name of an animal. In the Huron nation the tribe are three, and have for their distinguishing mark the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle.

The Iroquois has the Bear, the Wolf, and the Great and little Turtle. Among the Ojibway or Chippeway there are a great number of totems as the Bear, Snake, Crane, Eagle, Pike, Turtle, Mink, Otter, Beaver, Mullet, Birch Bark, Red Deer, Golden Eagle and many others too numerous to enumerate.

~~Such~~ The existence of such division under their various characteristics is striking and has been the subject of remark among writers ever since the discovery of the race. But it will be still more so and perhaps tend to establish the probability of an Asiatic origin when made known that something very similar is found to have existed amongst the Asiatics as the following extracts from the 9 vol of Asiatic Researches may testify, and what is worthy of remark is that, the period of the existence of these persons must have been at a very early age - not varying much from the date which I have suppose as the time of the peopling of this continent.

~~[?]~~ The history of these ancients is taken from a work of great authority in India entitled Calpa - Sutan, and from a vocabulary of the Sanscrit language by an author of the Jain sect, named Hemachandra.

Rishabha, or __rishabha of the race of the Icshwacan was the son of Nabbi by Marndeva; he is figured of a yellow or golden complexion and has a Bull for his characteristic.

29.

Ajita was son of Jitasatru by Vijaya; of the same race with the first Jina and of the same complexion with an Elephant for his distinguishing mark.

Sambhava was son of JITARI by Lena; distinguished by a horse.

Abhinandana was son of Sambara by Lidd' - Hart'ha; he has an ape for his peculiar sign.

L/Sumate has a [?] for his characteristic.

L/Sreyan or Lreyansa having a rhinoceros for his sign.

Vasupujye son of Vasupujya by Jaya represented with a red complexion and has a buffaloe for his mark.

Vimata has a bear for his characteristic.

Unanta or Anantajil - he has a falcon for his sign.

Janti has an antelope.

Cunt'hu has a goat for his mark.

Munisuvrata also named Lhurata or Muni has a tortoise.

Nami has the water-lily.

Parsna or Parswanatha has a serpent for his characteristic.

Vard'hamana has a lion for his standard.

There are several other persons named in the work from which I extract the above, but I consider these a sufficient number to establish the fact that a striking unity exists between the customs of the Ancient Asiatics and the American Tribes.

The existence of heraldry is of very ancient date and appears to have spread over the world that a custom of this nature should accidentally have taken its rise among nations having never had any intercourse is too absurd to be supported for one moment.

Nor has it been preserved among the Aborigines of this continent alone but is found existing in various forms amongst all the civilized and perhaps nearly all the still barbarous nations of the Old World.

30.

as it has from time immemorial as the standards and armorial bearing of all nations testify etc. ----------

The Japanese always has his arms painted on one or more of his garments, on the sleeves or between the shoulders." Enc. Britt. Art Japan.

Heraldry. Heraldry according to Sir George Mackenzie ^ degraded into an ~~brought into the form of a [?]~~ art and ^ subjected to rules, ~~set down there by~~ ^ must be ascribed to Charlemaign [sic] and Frederick Barbaropas for it did begin and grow with the feudal law. Should it however be granted that heraldry ~~was first studied~~ was advanced to a science at so recent a period, it is very clear that the practice has existed from the earliest epoch of profane history. We find in the mythology of the Ancient the most unequivocal testimony of the practice among the Greeks in an early age of their history.

We find in Homer, Virgil, and Ovid that their heroes had diverse figures on their shields whereby their [?] were distinctly known.

The learned Alexander Nisbet, in his system of heraldry, says, that arms owe their rise and beginnings to the light of nature, and that signs and marks of honour were made use of in the first ages of the world, and by all nations, however simple and illiterate, to distinguish the noble from the ignoble." Ency.

There is every reason to believe that in all ages symbolical signs, as of ~~living creature~~ birds, beasts, etc. have been made use of either to denote courage, to render them terrible to their enemies, or to distinguish between families as names do individuals. The famous C. Agrippa in his treatise on the variety of sciences, cap 81 has collected many instances of their marks of distinction, anciently borne by kingdoms and states that were any way civilized.

The Egyptians	an Ox
Athenians	an Owl
Goths	a Bear
Romans	an Eagle
Franks	a Lion
Saxons	a horse

31.

Astronomy

__Mugoostiquahri Bears head

" _____

Loon hunter archer of course.

Hungary has its name from the Hunns a Scythian or Tartar nation who subdued it in the ninth century. The Haydukes or foot soldiers usually wear feathers in their caps according to the number of the enemy they pretend to have killed. There are four languages spoken in this country. The Hungarian which, like the people, is of Scythian origin, and has little or no affinity with any European tongue.

32.

Burials and Customs with the Dead

The following is extracted from Harmon's journal.

"An Indian has come here (Fort Vermillion on Peace River) who says that one of their Chiefs has lately died; and he requests that we furnish a Chief's clothing to be put on him, that he may be decently intered [sic], and, also that we would supply a small quantity of spirits for his relations and friends to drink at his interment; all of which I have sent, for the deceased was a friendly Indian. Nothing pleases an Indian better than to see his deceased relatives handsomely attired; for he believes that they will arrive in the other world, in the same dress with which they are clad, when they are consigned to the grave." p.179

~~"My interpreter informs me that their (the Tacullies) language strongly resembles that spoken by the Sicannies; and doubtless they formerly constituted a part of the same tribe though they now differ in their manners and customs. The Sicannies bury, while the Tacullies burn their dead.~~

"The corpse of a woman of this place, who died on the 20th inst., was burned this afternoon. While the ceremony was performing the Natives made a terrible savage noise, by howling, crying, and a kind of singing." p.196

"This day the Natives have buried the corpse of one of their chiefs who died in the early part of the month." p.197

"On the 9th inst., a Sicanny died at this place; and the following circumstances attended his incineration today. The coffin was placed on a pile of wood, with the face upward, which was painted and bare. The body was covered with a robe of beaver skins and shoes were on his feet; in short, the deceased was dressed in the same manner as when alive, only a little more gaily. His gun and powder horn, with every trinket which he had possessed, were placed at his side. As they were about to set fire to the wood on which the deceased lay, one of the brothers asked him if he would ever come among them again; for they suppose that the soul of a person after the death of the body can revisit the earth in another body. They must therefore believe in the immortality of the soul, though they connect it with the transmigration of the soul."

"The deceased had two wives, who were placed, the one at the head, and the other at the foot of the corpse; and there they lay until the hair of their heads was nearly consumed

33.

by the flames, and they were almost suffocated by the smoke. When almost senseless, they rolled on the ground to a little distance from the fire. As soon as they had recovered a little strength, they stood up and began to strike the burning corpse with both their hands alternately; this disgusting and savage ceremony was continued until the body was nearly consumed. This operation was interrupted by their frequent turns of fainting, arising from the intensity of the heat. If they do not soon recover from these turns, and commence the operation of striking the corpse, the men would seize them by the little remaining hair on their heads and push them into the flames in order to compel them to do it."

"When the body was nearly burned to ashes, the wives of the deceased gathered up these ashes, and the remaining pieces of bones, which they put into bags. These bags they will be compelled to carry upon their backs, and to lay by their sides when they lie down at night, for about two years. The relations of the deceased will then make a feast, and enclose these bones and ashes in a box, and deposit them under a shed erected for that purpose in the centre of the village. Until this time the women are kept in a kind of slavery, and are required to daub their face over with some black substance, and frequently to go on without any clothing, excepting round their waists." p.216

"Soon after the natives left this village (Fraser's Lake) to go to the small lake for the purpose of taking fish - four of their number died. These corpses were kept by their relations, to the present time when they are bringing them to the village in order to burn them." p.249 Carrier Indians.

Hindoo incinerations -

Circassia, a country of Asia - 45-50 N.L. 40-50 E.L. Their language is common with the other Tartar dialects. Their religion is pagan but they are circumcised - but have neither priest, alcoran or mosque. Every one offers his own sacrifices at pleasure. Their most solemn sacrifice is offered at the death of their nearest friends. Both men and women are present as an he-goat is killed and the skin stretched on a pole, the flesh is eaten as a feast boiled and roasted. The men rise and mutter certain prayers to the skin - the women retire and the men drink to intoxication and as among Christians generally quarrel and fight. The women and children smoke tobacco.

Mr. Grosier relates a fact respecting Corea, a peninsula lying to the northeast of China which in his opinion gives the strongest proof of the revolutions the surface of our globe has undergone. An ancient Chinese book asserts that the city where Kipe the king or Corea established his court, was built in a place which forms at present a part of the Territory of Yong-ping-fou, a city of the first class in the province of Petcheli. "If (says he) this be admitted as a fact, we may

34.

from thence conclude that these territories formerly belonged to Corea and that the Gulf of Sax-tong which at present separates this kingdom from the Province of Petcheli, did not then exist, and that it has been formed since, for it is not probably that a sovereign would have fixed his residence without the boundaries of his kingdom, or in a place where he was separated by a wide and extensive sea. This conjecture is confirmed by certain facts admitted by the Chinese. Thus when Yu surnamed the Great undertook to drain and carry off the waters which had inundated the grounds of several provinces he began by the river Hoang-ho-the the flowings of which caused the greatest devastation. He went in search of its source to the bosom of Tartary from whence he directed its course across the provinces of Chan-si, Chen-si, Honan and Petcheli. Towards its mouth, in order to weaken the rapidity of its waters he divided them into nine channels through which he caused this river to discharge itself into the cantera (?) sea near the mountain of Kie-che-chan (Ke-che-wu-chwi -mountain Ojibway) which then formed a promontory. Since that time to the present, that is about 3950 years, the river Ho-any-ho has departed so much from its ancient courses, that its mouth at present is about six degrees further south. We must also remark that the mountain Kie-che-chan which was formerly united to the main land of Yong-pong-fou stands at present in the sea at the distance of about 50 leagues to the south of that city. Of the many changes which the earth has undergone, few are mentioned in history save such as happen suddenly, and which consequently make the deeper impression on the minds of men. - Enc. Art. Corea.

Burning a custom in the East and West Indies. Our accounts of this custom are as remote as the Theban war at the pyre of Manaeacus and Auchemonus, who were contemporary with Jair the 8th Judge of Israel. Homer abounds with funeral obsequies of this nature. In the interior of Asia this custom was of long continuance for in the reign of Julian the King of Chionia burnt his son's body and deposited his ashes in a silver urn. While in ~~Europe~~ the West the custom has been the same as far as any accounts relate. The Herulians the Gates and the Thuacians had all along observed it and its antiquity was as great with the Celtae and Sarmatians and other neighbouring nations.

Kings were burnt in cloth of Asbestos that their ashes might be preserved pure from any mixture of[12] with the fuel and other matter thrown on the funeral pile. The same methods are still observed by the princes of Tartary.

[12] Evans seemed to miss a few words here.

35.

Languages of the Aborigines compared
with those of the Asiatics.

Achilles is supposed to have died 1183 years before the Christian era.

The [?] Hindoos certainly yield to none in their claims to antiquity, and their language probably contains the ground work of the Asiatic as well as the European generally.

Mr. Halhed in his grammar of the Shanscrit informed us that it is the parent of almost every dialect from the Persian Gulf to the Chinese seas, and declares it to be a language of the most venerable antiquity, and that formerly it appears to have been current over the greatest part of the eastern world, as traces of it may be found in ^ almost every district of Asia. He further informs us that there is a great similarity between the Shanscrit words and those of the Persian and Arabic, and even Latin and Greek; and these not in technical or metaphorical terms, but in the main ground work of the language; in monosyllables, the names of numbers, and the names of such things as would be at first discriminated on the immediate dawn of civilization.

~~The~~ A striking resemblance ~~is seen in~~ of the Shanscrit characters is seen on the medals and signets of different parts of Asia ~~the light~~. The coins of Assam, Napaul, Cashmira, and many other kingdoms are all stamped with Shanscrit letters, and mostly contain allusions to the Shanscrit mythology, and the same conformity may be observed on the impressions of seals from Bootan and Thibet.

It appears by certain inscriptions taken from the ruins of the Palace of Persepolis, which was built near 700 years before the Christian era that the Persians wrote in perpendicular columns like the Chinese.

The Indians of Am. know nothing of Alphabetical writing. We may then date their exodus from Asia at a period prior to the general knowledge of the art of writing at least in that region from whence they migrated. ~~An [?] makes the following remark~~ from all the facts which can be collected relative to the nation which first made use of alphabetic characters, ^ the content appears to be confined to the Phoenicians, Egyptians and Chaldeans - and as the Chaldeans who cultivated astronomy in the most remote ages, used symbols or arbitrary marks in their calculations, and such must have been originally the parents of letters, may we not suppose that as the Chaldeans, Syrians, Phoenicians and Egyptians bordered upon each other that the Phoenicians and Syrians became acquainted with this art and that as ~~The Egyptians~~ Tyne and Sidon were not far distant from each other that they communicated the art to the Egyptians. That Chaldea was peopled before Egypt both sacred and profane history allow, and it is certain that many nations the descendants of Shem and Japheth had their letters from the Phoenicians, who

36.

were descended from Ham - but ~~as to~~ with what rapidity the knowledge spread we cannot even conjecture.

From the Shanscrit are derived the sacred characters of Thibet - the Cashmirian, Bengalese, Malabaria and Tamoul. The Singalese, Siamese, Maharattan, Concanee, etc., and from the same source we must derive the Tangutic or Tartar characters.

The ancient Phoenician alphabet consisted of 13 letters and that of the Pelasgi which prevailed in Greece till the time of Dencalion 13 letters - and the Tyrrkemian alphabet which was brought into Italy before the reign of Dencalion. 13 letters. Dencalion is said to have reigned about 820 years after the deluge or 1529 B.C.

The Pelasgian has	a B c v z h th I k l M N S p z ch t
Phoenician	a b d h I C l m n sch tz r s t
Palmyrenian	a B Gh v C L M S oim tz K n suth

Mr Shindan says that the number of simple sounds in one tongue are 28 - while Dr. Kencheck says we have only 11 distinct species of articulate sounds which even by contraction, prolongation, or composition are increased only to 15.

37.

pious and learned commentators and ridiculing sceptics and infidels. Abraham set a whole calf before them and three nxoleah or measures as we translate it equal to something more than two English bushels, hence we may conclude, that men were great eaters in those days, and much execise [sic] ever probably of a larger stature as well as being longer lived than we are at this day. Homer Odyss C XIV ver 74 etc. makes his heroes great eaters - when Eumeus entertained Ulysses he dressed two pigs for himself and his guest:

"So saying, he guided quick his tunic close
And issuing sought the sties; hence bringing two
of the imprisoned hence, he slaughtered both,
Singed them, and slashed, and spilled them and placed
The whole well roasted banquet, spits and all
Reeking before Ulysses." Cowper

And on another occasion a hog of five years old was slaughtered and served up for five persons:

"- - - - - His wood for fuel he prepared
And dragging thither a well fatted brawn
Of the fifth year -
Next piercing him, and scorching close his hair
The joints then parted - IBID v 419 Cowper

Ind-10 rabbits white man 40 Jackfish

I cannot omit noticing the very striking similarity which exists between the Hebrew and the Ojibway in the words by which the human species are called in both languages. [?] Ish is the proper generic name for man in Heb as [?] Adam is for the species – as [?] chaieto - the wild beasts [?] behemah domestic beasts [?] remes - reptiles and animal [?]. But when a man is spoken of as an individual he is termed Enosh - the sh being an affix to denote unworthiness or misery and frequently this applies in scripture see
So that the word thus separated would stand Eno and the word implying man in Ojibway is Enene ^ the latter ne being only an appellation to imply importance ^ and would thus stand with the as compared Eno - Ene. If spoken of with contempt or expressive of unworthiness misery sh must be attached which will make it Enenevish and the

38.

No wonder that the traditions of the Ind. reduce Noah's Ark to a large canoe - when the Syriac and Arabic Translators trifle with Hebrew [?] gōpher and render it wicker work and consequently made the Ark a great Basket. Benut, [?] berith from [?] ban "to purify or cleanse, beeneze been the root in Ojeb.

Gen 13.14-15 verses chap 9th. That the Indians have been at some remote period since the general deluge, acquainted with the Asiatics is, I think, deducible from the name given to the Rainbow which is to expressive to be lost sight of and applies with so much strictness to the Mosaic account in Gen 9 Ch 13-14-15 verses that it is I conceive presumptuous to suppose that the circumstances can be merely fortuitous.

The Hebrew were not alone in considering the rainbow as a token or sign, for both the Greeks and Romans deified it and made it a messenger of the gods. Homer in his [?] B-5-28 says that there were on Agamemnon's breast plate three dragons and their colours were

- - ιξισσιν εοιποτες , ας τε κδοινιων
Έν νεφεϊ ςηδιξε, τερας μεροπων ανθρωπων.

that is, "like the rainbow which Saturn has placed in the clouds as a sign to mankind. Virgil considers the rainbow as a messenger of the Gods Æn. v - 606

Kino de caelo misit Saturnio Juno
Juno the daughter of Saturn sent down the rainbow from heaven."
And Æn ix – 805 – aeredon caelo nam Jupiter Irin Dimisit
"for Jupiter sent down the ethereal rainbow from heaven."

The name of the rainbow in the Ojibway language is ahgiumnebezcom ^ or Ahgavaunnebezaun as nearby the Roman characters can represent it which signifies. This word or compound

AHGWOIN - to cover and NEBEE water or PESEBEZAMEN fine rain and the latter a compound of NAHGWANGUN, a snail and NEBI water, or PESELTEEZAUN fine rain either of which convey an import that the rainbow is a sign or token that the rain shall be covered, [?] or arrested and agree precisely with the account given by Moses, that it is a sign or covenant that a flood shall no more cover the earth. Old woman's [?] Query?

GEN 18 Chap.v 1..8 Let a little water I pray you be fetched and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree. And I will fetch a morsel of bread.

The bountiful provision which was made by Abraham for his three guests has been the subject of remark by both ^ see preceding page

39.

Both the Asiatics and American savages use dogs in sacrifice to their gods, to bespeak favour or avert evil.

When the Koreki dread an infection, they kill a dog, wind the intestines round two poles and pass between them - Indian Dog Feast.[13]

It is certain that Wednesday is called the day of Bod, or Budd, in all the Hindoo languages among which the Tamulic, having no b, begins the word with a p, which brings it very near the Balic mode of writing it.

"We know that in the island of Ceylone there is a pretended print of a human foot, which has long been held in great veneration. It represents, doubtless, the left foot, for the Siamese say that Sommonacodom set his right foot on their Prabat, and his left foot at Lancat."

From Knox's history of Ceylone it appears that the impression here spoken of, is upon the hill called, by the Chingelays, Hamalell, by the Europeans, Adam's Peak; and that the natives believe it to be the foot step of their great idol, Buddou; between the worship of whom as described by Knox, and that of Sommonacodom, as related by M. De La Loubere, there is a striking resemblance in many particulars which it may be proper here to enumerate. [End of different handwriting][14]

Superstitions

Destroyed of the Destroyer 1 Cor 10:10 Clarke's note "The Jews supposed that God employed destroying angels to punish those rebellious Israelites: they were five in number. One of them they call חישמ Meshachith, the destroyer: which angel appear to be another name for Samuel the Angel of Death; to whose influence they attribute all deaths which are not uncommon or violent. Those who die violent deaths, or deaths that are not in the common manner of men are considered as perishing by immediate judgment from God."

Medai atush perest a worshipper of fire atush fire.

In England to never go out fasting - Clarke on Matt 2:1 - The advice of an Arabic philosopher to his son is "my son never go out of the house in the morning till thou hast eaten something; by so doing thy mind will be more firm; and shouldst thou be insulted by any person thou wilt find thyself more disposed to suffer patiently for hunger dries up and disorders the brain."

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[13] A second handwriting style begins here and is represented with the different font.

[14] The instances where a different handwriting appears have been marked by a change in font, from Ariel to Times New Roman. This change in handwriting is distributed throughout the later pages of Evans's workbook. For analysis of this matter see chapter 4.

40.

The Encyclopedia Britannica remark under the head of Language that were philosophical enquiries carried to the east, ~~the trails of~~ the remains of one original language might be traced through a great part of the globe. At this day under this head I find the following note -

"In the Sanscrit, [sic] or ancient language of the Gentoos OUR signifies day: In other eastern languages the same word is used to denote both light and fire. Chaldee ur is fire: Egyptian or is the sun or light. Hebrew aur is light; Greek anp is the air; often light; Latin aura is the air from the [?] Greek; and in Irish at is aear. From the very same origin we have the Greek word πυρ, and the English fire - In Heb or signifies to raise, lift up one's self, or be raised; hence plainly are derived the Latin orior to arise, whence oriens the East, and English orient, oriental; also Latin origo and Eng. origin and originate etc.

Esquimaux - for sun Shekinah. The similarity existing between this word and the symbol of the Divine Presence among the Jews is too striking to be lost sight of.

Chinese Kianqsi - Kiangnan Quanting Tcke-kiang Nangtsekiang. Chang-hai

Koriacs a people inhabiting the northern part of Kamtscheken. They are divided into the Wan [?] and Fixed Koriacs [?] Mr. Pennant supposes these two nations from their features to be the offspring of the Tartars, who have degenerated in size through the severity of the climate, and the scarcity of food.

Lapland - The Christian religion has not yet dispelled all the rites of Heathen superstitions: together with the body they put into the coffin an axe, a flint and steel, and a flask of brandy, some dried fish and venison. With the axe the deceased is supposed to hew down the bushes or boughs that may obstruct his passage in the other world; the steel and flint are designed for striking a light should he find himself in the dark at the day of judgment and on the provision they think he may subsist during the journey.

The Muscovy Laplanders. Before the internment ~~of the~~ the friends of the deceased kindle a fire of fir boughs near the coffin and express their sorrow in tears and lamentation. They walk in procession several times around the body demanding in a whining tone the reason of his leaving them on earth. They ask whether he was in want of meat, drink, or clothing, or other

41.

Hebrew Achem, Ojib. mechim food.

necessaries, and whether he had not succeeded in hunting or fishing. There are other such interrogations, to which the defunct makes no reply and intermingled with groans and hideous howlings. Three days after the funeral the kinsmen and friends of the deceased are invited to an entertainment where they eat the flesh of the Rein Deer which conveyed the corpse to the burying ground. This being a sacrifice to the [?] the bones are collected in a basket and interred. Enc. Brit. Art Laplan

Media - now the province of Ghilan in Persia. This country originally took its name from Mulai the third son of Juphithar is plain from Scripture where the Medes are constantly called Media among profane authors, some derive the name of Madia from one Medus, the son of Jason and Medea; others from a city called Medea Ency. Brit. See likewise Clarke's Com?

Le Comte observes, that the Chinese affect long beards extravagantly but nature has baulked them, and only given them very little ones which, however, they cultivate with infinite care. Enc. Brit. Art Beards.

Traditions preserved in Mexico.

"Nor did that people only make use of tradition, paintings and songs, to preserve the memory of events, but also of threads of different colours and differently knotted."
In Cabulistan a province of Asia formerly belonging to the Great Mogul - a ^ [?] feast is annually celebrated in February at which time they dance clothed in red cloth, make their offerings and sound trumpets. They do this in remembrance of Cruesman their God who killed a giant who was his enemy.

Compare the Indian Calumet with the caducens of the Greeks carried by the Caduceatores or messengers of peace.

Compare animals - the Glama or Llama or South American camel sheep.
The [?] Elk or Moose are found in the woody regions of both Asia and America in the woody tracts of the temperate parts of Russia - but not in the arctic flats [?] in Kamtschalka - as also in Siberia.

The Rein Deer is a native of Asia and America.

The Fallow Deer are found in Greece, the Holy Lands and much of China none originally in America.

The Ceylonese have various methods of treating the dead. Some burn them, and others hang them in trees. Knox's History.

42.

The Kalmuks a tribe of Tartars called also Sluths inhabiting what the Europeans call Western Tartary.

"When a Kalmuc possesses an idol, he places it near ^ the head of his bed, and sits before it several small consecrated cups of water, milk or other food. Before this sort of alter he fixes in the ground the trunk of a tree, on which he places a large iron basin destined to receive the libations of all the drinks he makes use of during the day." Enc Brit Art Kalmucs Kamtschalkans. "It appears probably that the Kamtschalkans lived formerly in Mongolia beyond the river Amur and made one people with the Mungals, [sic] which is further confirmed by the following observations, such as the Mungal [sic] Chinese language as their terminations in ong, ing, oang; chin cha ching; ksii, ksung." "Some carry little idols about them or have them placed in their dwelling." Enc. Brit.
Islands of the Sea of Kamtschalka. These islands stretch nearly from Asia to America. The inhabitants of these Islands resemble in their appearance and manners those of the Northwest Coast of America. "Feasts are very common among these islanders and particularly when the inhabitants of one Island are visited by those of another. The men of the village meet their guests beating drums preceded by the women who sing and dance. At the conclusion of the dance, the hosts invite them to partake of the feast, after which ceremony the former return first to their dwelling, place mats in order, and serve up their best provision. The guests then enter and take their places, and, after they are satisfied the diversions begin. First, the children dance and caper at the same time making a noise with their small drums, while the owners of both sexes sing. Next the men dance almost naked tripping after one another and beating drums of a larger size. They are [---ved ?] by the women who dance in their clothes, the men continuing in the mean time to sing and beat their drums. If a sorcerer is present, it is their turn to play his trick in the dark; if not the guests immediately retire to their huts." Enc. Brit. Art Kamts. Their Industry They pass all December in feasting and diversion similar to the above, with this difference, that the men dance in wooden masks representing various[15]
The following ceremonies are used in the burial of the dead. The bodies of poor people are wrapped up in their own clothes, or in mats; then laid in a grave, and covered over with earth. The bodies of the rich are put, together with their clothes and arms, in a small boat made of the wood driven ashore by the sea, this boat is hung upon poles placed crossways; and the body is thus left

[15] Evans does not complete this sentence.

43.

to rot in the open air. Enc. Brit. Art. Kamtschalkas.

Polygamy among the inhabitants of the Hills near Rajamahal, in the East Indies.

Polygamy is allowed. A man may marry as many wives as his circumstances will admit of; that is, as often as he can defray the expenses of the nuptials. When he sees a girl whom he wishes to espouse, he sends a friend to her parents to ask her in marriage: they refer him to the lady. Should he obtain her consent, he acquaints the parents, who desire him to return to the suitor, to advise him of their acquiescence, and that he may prepare the usual presents of poonate (beads) and tubacane (a ring for the neck) to present to the lady; which being accepted, she is considered as betrothed to him; and he, as soon as he can procure money for the expense of the nuptials, must provide a turban for the lady's father, with one rupee; also, a rupee and piece of cloth for her mother; and a rupee and a piece of cloth for several of the nearest relations. These and the materials for the marriage feast being provided, a day is fixed, on which the bridegroom with his relations, proceeds to the bride's father's house, where they are seated on cots and mats, and after a repast, the bride's father taking his daughter's hand, and giving it to the bridegroom, he publicly admonishes him to use her well and kindly, and not to murder her; threatening to retaliate; but if she should die ~~of~~ a natural death, or by means of the devil, it cannot be helped. On the conclusion of this exhortation, the bridegroom, with the little finger of his right hand, marks the bride's forehead with red paint; and the same little finger being linked with the little finger of the bride's right hand, he leads her out of the house to his own. At the expiration of five days, the bridegroom with the bride returns to her father's well stocked with provisions for feasting, and having passed two or three days with their parents, they go home, and the ceremony concludes.

Though Mexico, as we have seen, was originally inhabited by a number of different nations, yet all of them resemble each other pretty much, not only in character, but in external appearance. "They generally rather exceed (says our author) than fall under the middle size, and are well proportioned, in all

44.

their limbs. They have good complexions, narrow foreheads, black eyes, clean, firm, white, and regular teeth thick; black, coarse, glossy hair; thin beards, and generally no hair upon their legs, thighs, and arms, their skin being of an olive colour.

There is scarcely a nation on earth in which there are fewer persons deformed; and it would be more difficult to find a single humpbacked, lame, or squint eyed man among a thousand Mexicans, than among an hundred of any other nation. The unpleasantness of their colour, the smallness of their foreheads, and the thinness of their beards, and the coarseness of their hair, are so far compensated by the regularity and fine proportion of their limbs, that they can neither be called very beautiful nor the contrary, but seem to hold a middle place between the extremes.[16]

One singular fact, however, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. That the name of Crishnu and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of Homer, we know very certainly. As. Res. Vol. 1 - p.273.

According to the Institutes of Minu, we may place the beginning of the Caliyuga about the year 1070 - before Christ. For we read there, that men in the golden age lived, 400 years; 300 in the next or silver age; 200, in the brass one, and 100 in the Caliyuga. These four ages are obviously to be second from the flood; after which men as far down as Eber, lived about 400 years; and then regularly decreasing, till the beginning of the Iron age or 1370 B.C. ~~as we shall see~~ when we find that Yudhishthera. Crishna. Ninos (?) and jupiter lived about 100 years. As. Res. Vol. 9 -p.89.

Of these cursory observations on the Hindus, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result; that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians. Ethiopians, and Egyptians the Phenicians Greeks, and Tuscans, the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; Chinese, Japanese, Peruvians; whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from anyone of

[16] The handwriting that begins following this point seems to be forced, it appears as though someone who does not normally write neatly is trying to write neatly.

45.

those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceed from some central country, to investigate which will be the object of my future Discourses; and I have a sanguine hope that your collections, during the present year, will bring to light many useful discoveries, although the departure for Europe of a very ingenious member, who first opened the inestimable mine of Sanscrit literature, will often deprive us of accurate and solid information concerning the languages and antiquities of India; As. Res. Vol 1 p.430.

The earth consists of numerous distinct continents, in concentric circles, separated by seas forming rings between them. The first circle is jambudwipa, with the mountain Sudars a Meru in the centre. It is encompassed by a ring containing the salt ocean; beyound which is the zone, named Dhatacidwipa; similarly surrounded by a black ocean. This again is encircled by Pushcaradwipa; of which only the first half is accessible to mankind: being separated from the remoter half by an impassable range of mountains, denominated Manushottara Parvata. Dhatusidwipa contains two mountains, similar to Sumeru named Vijanga and Achala; and Pashcara contains two others, called Mandia and Vidyunmali. As. Res. Vol 9 p. 320.

The most honourable furniture among them is the scalp of their enemies. Enc. Brit. Ar [sic] America.

Among those persons public business is conducted with the utmost simplicity and which may recall to those who are acquainted with antiquity a picture of the most early ages. When the business is over they have a feast - accompanied with song in which the exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have danced too, though like those of the Greeks and Romans, chiefly of the military kind; and their music and dancing accompany every feast (ibid).

Totems. Every nation has its peculiar sign or standard which is generally some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the 5 nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle, and by these names the tribes are usually distinguished. They have the figures of those animals pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies, and when they march through the woods, they commonly at

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every encampment cut the representation of their ensign on trees.

Their Customs

The Creeks and Choctaws punish adultery in a woman by cutting off her hair - and for the same crime, the Illinois cut off the woman's nose and ears. Ency. Brt. Art-America.

The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezcuco and still more their vapour baths show the ancient use of arches and vaults among the Mexicans. Neither the Egyptians nor Babylonians understood the construction of arches.

Some of the American nations bury their dead in trees. Certain of the Tungusi observe a similar custom (ibid).

The Tungusi use canoes made of birch bark distended over ribs of wood and nicely sewed together. The Canadian and other America nations use no other sort of boats.

The Tartars bury their dead sometimes at full length and sometimes in sitting posture - with their most valuable clothing (ibid).

The Tungusi the most numerous nation resident in Siberia prick their faces with small punctures with a needle in various shapes; then rub into them charcoal so that the marks become indelible. The Indians near Hudson's Bay perform the operation in the same manner and puncture the skin into various figures as the natives of New Zealand.The ancient Belans did crush the herb glasturn or moad - and the Virginian Indians when the country was first discovered by the English. Ency. Br. Amer.

"In respect to the features and form of the Indians -almost every tribe has a strong characteristic feature of the Tartar nations of Asia retaining the little black eyes, small noses, high cheek bones and broad round faces. They vary in size from the stout Calmucs to the little Nogaians. The five Indian Nations who are tall and robust and of more oblong face are also a variety of the Tartar the five races of Tschutski seem to be the stock from which this race are derived - and the Tschutski from the race of Tartars called Kabardinski or inhabitants of Kabarda.

About Prince Wms. Sound begins a race distinguished by their dress, canoes and their instruments of the chase from the tribe of the south. Esquimaux in the high latitudes becoming more dwarfish as they occupy further northward.

The famous Japanese chart places some island near the American continent and bestows them the name of Ya Zul or the Kingdom of the Dwarfs. America perhaps was not unknown to the Japanese, and Kumpfer and Charlevoix mention that they had actually wintered on the continent. In the Island of Oonalaska a dialect of the Esquimaux is in use at this day and continues along the coast northward." Enc. Brit. America.

47.

The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about them at all times this savage mark of triumph: they cut a circle round the neck, and strip off the skin, as they would that of an ox. (ibid)

A little image of a Tartarian deity, found among the Kalmucs, mounted on a horse, sitting on a human skin with scalps pendant from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the Scythian progenitors, as described by Grecian historians (ibid). The Kamtschalkans put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating tortures which they can possibly devise. A race of the Scythians were called Anthropophagi from their eating human flesh -- (ibid).

The Scythians were said _____ to transform themselves into wolves - The Americans dress with animal skins.

The Kamtschalkans never walk abreast.

Two kinds of Samuli one for the dead and one for defense on the Muskingham in Ohio. 300 perches in length 150 by 25-30 in breadth. Doubtless the Talticos or some nation which emerged southward were the people who raised the mounds and fortifications. Compare with those of Mexico.

Fairies - the ginn and peri of the Oriental.

The Egyptians fasted, also the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Jews. Apaleius declares that whoever desired to be initiated into the mysteries of Cybele were obliged to prepare themselves by ten days fasting. In short all the pagan deity of the old world required this duty of those who desired to be initiated into their mysteries - of their priests and Fast priestesses who gave the oracles and of those who came to consult them. Also before military enterprise. Aristotle informs us that the Lacedemonians having resolved to ~~upon~~ to succom [sic] a city of the Allies - ordained a fast throughout all their dominions. The gymnosophists, or brahmans of the east are remarkable for their severe fasting. The Chinese according to father le Comte have their stated fasts and prayers to preserve them from [barrenness?], inundations and earthquakes. Fasting was also used in the east to procure dreams and the interpretation thereof.

Mounds. The mounds of earth in which are found great quantities of bones are often imagined to be the remains of warriors who have fallen in battle, but it is evident that they are the remains of the burning places of the Iroquois who formerly inhabited these countries. Feasts for the dead were held every eight or ten years, and sometimes more frequently of which we have a full and circumstantial - see next page

48.

Writing of the Chinese

In some countries, as amongst the Orientals, the lines began from the right and ran leftward, in others, as the northern and eastern nations, from left to right; others as the Greeks, followed both directions, alternating going in the one, and returning in the other, called boustrophedon. In most countries, the lines run from one side to the other, in some particularly the Chin^ese, from top to bottom.

Fossils in Liberia. Climate formerly etc.

In the museum of the Russian academy of Sciences, there is a vast collection of fossil bones, teeth, and horns, of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, which have been found in different parts of the empire, but more particularly in the southern regions of Liberia. Naturalists have been puzzled to account for so great a variety being found in a country where the animals of which they were formerly made a part, were never known to exist. It was the opinion of Peter, who, though he deserves to be esteemed a great monarch, was certainly no great naturalist, the teeth found near Voronetr were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great who, according[17] to some historians crossed the Don, and advanced as far as the Kostinka. The celebrated Bayer whose authority carries greater weight in the literary world conjectures that the bones and teeth found in Siberia belonged to elephants common in that country during the wars which the Monguls monarchs carried on with the Persians and Indians; and his plausible supposition seems in some measure to be corroborated by the discovery of the entire skeleton of an elephant in one of the Liberian tombs. But this opinion, as Mr. Palens very justly observes, is sufficiently refuted by the consideration that the elephants employed in the armies of all India could never have afforded the vast quantities of teeth which have been discovered, not to mention those which it is justly presumed may still be buried. They have been already dug up in such plenty as to make a considerable article of trade. The same ingenious naturalist has given an ample description of these fossil bones and has endeavoured to account for their origin. Upon examining those in the museum he was led to conclude that, as these bones are equally dispersed in all the northern regions of Europe, the climate probably was in the earlier ages less severe than at present, and then possibly sufficiently warm to be the native country of the elephant, rhinocerous [sic] & other quadrepeds now found only in the southern climates. (flood) But when he visited, during his travels, the spots where the fossil bodies were dug up and could form a judgment from his own observations

[17] Halfway through this word the handwriting changes.

49.

and not from the accounts of others, he announced his hypothesis and in ~~[?] with~~ conformity with the opinion of many modern philosophers, asserted that they must have been brought by the waters; and that nothing but a sudden & general inundation such as the deluge could have transported them from their native countries in the south to the regions of the north. In proof of this assertion he adds, that the bones are generally found separate, as if they had been scattered by the waves, covered with a striation of mud evidently formed by the waters and commonly intertwined with the remains of marine plants and similar substances, and which sufficiently prove that these regions of Asia were once overwhelmed with the sea.

Mexican baths The bath of the Mexican, called temazcalli is built of ~~[?] bricks~~ unburned bricks, in the form of an oven, with a floor of the same material - on this a fire in kindled, the smoke of which passes off through an aperture at the top - as soon as a sufficient heat is given to the floor, the person enters with a pitcher of water ^ and sometimes with a ~~swatch of herbs~~ domestic with a bunch of herbs ~~and sometimes. He~~ As soon as he enters he shuts the entrance close and regulates the temperament by the hole at the top. He then throws water on the hot stones and raises a thick steam to the top of the temazcalli. ~~This sort of bath~~ The domestic with the bunch of herbs, with which a domestic drives down the vapour upon the bather. The Indian women almost constantly use this after childbirth = In use from Terra Del Fuego to the Frozen Ocean.

[separate account continued from page 47]
account by Lapitan who has given the most authentic account of these nations. The bodies are brought in every state of decomposition and sometimes from afar. A feast is given by each family who has a corpse - a large pit is dug and all the borders ^ sealed around - their great actions are celebrated - the women weep and howl and whatever they deem as most valuable is cast into this general tomb - every one goes down into the pit takes a handful of earth and religiously preserves - the bodies arranged in order are covered with new furs and over these with barkwood, stones and earth. Enc. Brit. Feasts.

The nations of the Island of Formosa in the Pacific about--miles from Canton in China - by gaining the approbation of their chiefs for agility in running or dexterity in the chase, obtain the privilege of making on their skin by a painful operation, several fantastical flowers trees and animals. Art Formosa.

"If a young man has a mind to marry and has fixed his offer terms on a young girl he appears for several days near where she lives with a musical instrument in his hand. If the young woman is satisfied with the figure of her gallant she comes forth and joins him: they then agree and settle the marriage contract and the young man considers the house of her father as his home.

50.

The inhabitants of the Friendly Islands cut off the little finger to avert death, as a sacrifice to Kallafootonga.

"The funeral rites among the Ancient Romans were very numerous. The bodies were kept seven days. When the people being assembled the last ^ and third conclamation was given ~~which had~~ in these words: Exequios L. Tit. L. filii, quibus est commordum vie, jam tempus est. Ollios (i.e. ille) ex oedibus essertur. When the bed was covered with purple, a trumpeter marched forth followed by old women, called prefecae, singing songs in praise of the deceased, lastly the bed followed borne by the next relations; the bed was followed by his children, kindred, etc: atrati, or in mourning. The body was brought to the nostrum, the next of kin laudabat defunctum par rostris, made a funeral oration is his praise and that of his ancestors. This done the body was carried to the pyra and there burned: his friends cutting off a finger to be burned with a second solemnity. The body consumed to ashes, the people were dismissed, who took leave of the deceased in the form Vale, Vale, Vale; nos to ordine quo natura premiserif sequimur. The ashes enclosed in an urn were laid in a sepulchre or tomb - Art. Fun. rites.

These customs were doubtless very ancient, being found among the Egyptians, Hindoos and most of the Eastern nations. The Grecians received these seeds of superstition and idolatrous worship from the Egyptians through the coming of _____, Cadmus, Danans, and Erichitheus into Greece, and from them, the Romans learned the custom. Gladiators - From the earliest times of which we have an acquaintance in profane history the custom has prevailed to sacrifice captives or prisoners of war to the many of the deceased - thus Achilles in the Iliad lib XXIII sacrificed 12 young Trojans to the [?] of Petroclus, and Virgil lib XI ver 81 AEneas sends captives to Evander to be sacrificed at the funeral of his son Pallas. See Mexico

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The refined or religious language characters of India are called Sanscrit or Sangskrit, and the more vulgar kind of writing Prakit. From the Sanscrit are derived the Sacred characters of Thibet Cashmirian Bengalese, Mala Caric, and Tamoul, the Sengalese Siamese Maharaton, Cancoule, etc. From the same source we may derive the Tanqutic or Tartar characters which are similar

51.

in great outlines, to the Sanscrit, the common Tartar generally read from the top to the bottom like the Chinese Phenician Alphabetum 13 letters only.

a b d H i c l m n s a t r s T

The ingenious Machter in his Natura et Scriptura Concordia [?] 64 endeavors to show that ten marks or characters are sufficient for every purpose - if so the most simple alphabet which consisted only of thirteen letters must have been abundantly sufficient - Sandwich Island Art Alph.

The number of simple sounds in any language cannot be very numerous, and it is plainly their simple sounds alone which we have occasion to represent by alphabetical characters. Hence the person who first invented letters must have been capable of analyzing language in a manner which seems by no means easy to do. It is this difficulty which has produced the great diversity as the number of alphabetical characters used by different nations, and where we see a vast number of them used, we may account the writing not the better, but much the worse for it, and whoever the pretended inventor was, it is more reasonable to suppose that he disfigured an alphabet already invented by unnecessary additions - than being the author of one himself –

Mr. Halhed says: "The resemblance which may be seen of the characters on the medals and signets of different parts of Asia, the light they reciprocally throw upon ~~each other~~ one another, and the general analogy which they bear to the grand prototype affords another ample field for curiosity. The coin of Assam, Napaul, Cashmira and many other kingdoms are stamped with Sanscrit letters, and mostly contain allusions to the old Sanscrit mythology. The same conformity may be observed in the impressions of heads from Bootan and Thibet."

It has been conjectured that the Indians lost those arts which they formerly possessed - but it is more probably had they known alphabetic writing that they would never have lost this -they therefore in all probability left the Northern part of Asia previous to the general use of letters –

The progress in the science of writing -

1. The representation of things by themselves but not abstract ideas.
2. Two or three principle figures to express the most prominent circumstances and leave the rest to language. Here is the picture writing of the Mexicans.
3. A reduction of the first stage of the last method. There is a dot

52.

~~Being the matter before this tribunal, Truth [?] issue on his impartiality.~~
for the sun instead of a circle - a head for a man, the mouth for appetite, the eye, ear, nose, etc. to express the senses. This is the method of the Chinese.

First ~~chap~~ writing - EX 17 Chapter - write in a book.
Alva in Grecian antiquity a festival kept in honour of Ceres by the husbandmen, and supposed to resemble our harvest home.

The Alene or dancing girls of Egypt make a figure at funerals singing sorrowful airs and occasionally breaking forth into groans and lamentations.

The Arabs gamble with a marked arrow - those are promiscuously drawn from a bag and he who draws the marked arrow, gains the camel.

[written from the bottom of the page up – meaning upside down]
The general term now used to distinguish between the Aborigines of the American Continent and the later occupants of the soil is Indian, whence they have derived this name I have never been able satisfactorily to ascertain, but I suppose it not improbable that in the discovery of this Continent the inhabitants received this appellation from their geographical locality as related to the previously known East Indies. The several islands lying adjacent to this country have been and still are known by the name of West India Islands.

That the original proprietors of this portion of the globe have been a numerous race, we have the most ample testimony from sources the authority of which are indisputable.

After the many conflicting opinions which have been advanced some without any and others on but fanciful foundations, respecting the origin of the American race, I may surely venture to add one with the hope that although another without much liability to outdo my forerunners in speculative theory absurdity.

That the soil of this western continent is not the country in which this people first existed, I consider to be an incontrovertible truth, founded on the authentic and indisputable testimony of the Holy Spirit. To the Christian no theory can be presented which will meet with acceptance or obtain his credence, unless in accordance with those Sacred Oracles which are the foundation of his hopes, and the polar star of his understanding. ^ ~~This being [?] Nothing then can be more clear than~~ ^ From this record we learn that these Indian tribes are the descendants of ~~Adam~~, the first and only pair, the direct workmanship of God, who were created in the Eastern Hemisphere. "For of one blood[18]

[18] Evans does not complete this phrase.

53.

Hills of Rajamahall in Hindustan. The natives of the hills in this Tuppahs, having no knowledge of letters, or of any character, have a traditional story, brought down from father to son, but in what age it was received, is not now known that the Bedo Gossaih made heaven and earth, and all that is therein. To people the latter, seven brothers were sent from Heaven. At first they remained together; when the eldest brother was sick, the six younger collected all manner of eatables, which they agreed to divide, and to separate, to go into different countries; one, a Hindu, got fish and goat's flesh in a new dish; for his share a second, a Mussulman, was allotted fish, fowl and every sort of flesh, except hogs from his portion, in a new dish also; a third Kirwary, a fourth, Kirrateer, got hogs flesh also in a new dish; a fifth Kawdeer, got all sorts of flesh, fish, and fowl in a new dish; a sixth, who was destined for a foreign country, got some of every sort of food in a new dish; and after his departure, it was not known what had become of him, until Europeans made their appearance, when ~~from~~ from their manners of living, it was concluded that they were the descendants of the sixth brother; the seventh Mullare, who was the oldest and ~~and~~ sick brother, got some of every kind of food, but put them in an old dish, for which he was considered an outcast, and ordered to inhabit these hills where, finding neither clothes nor subsistence, he and his descendants necessarily became thieves.

An Indian came here, who says, that one of their chiefs has lately died, and he requests that we furnish a chief's clothing to be put on him, that he may be decently interred; and also that we would supply a small quantity of spirits, for his relations and friends to drink, at his internment, all of which I have sent, for the deceased was a friendly Indian, nothing pleases an Indian better than to see his deceased relatives handsomely attired; for he believes that they will arrive in the ~~some oth~~ other world, in the same dress, with which they are clad when they are consigned to the grave.

54.

~~As~~ We arrived at the place where the Indian was encamped, just as the sun was sinking below the horizon, and when the hunter was about to take a sweat, which is frequently done in the following manner. The women make a kind of hut, of bended willows, which is ~~made~~ nearly circular, and, if for one or two persons only, not more than fifteen feet in circumference and three or four in height. Over these, they lay the skins of the buffaloe, &c.. and in the centre of the hut, they place heated stones. The Indian then enters perfectly naked, with a dish of ~~cold~~ water in his hand, a little of which,he occasionally throws on the hot stones, to create steam, which, in connexion (sic) with the heat, puts him into a profuse perspiration. In this situation he will remain for about an hour, but a person unaccustomed to endure such heat, could not sustain it for half that time. They sweat themselves in this manner, they say, in order that their limbs may become more supply, and they more alert in pursuing animals which they are desirous of killing. They, also, consider sweating a powerful remedy, for the most of diseases. As they come from sweating they frequently plunge into a river or rub themselves over with snow.

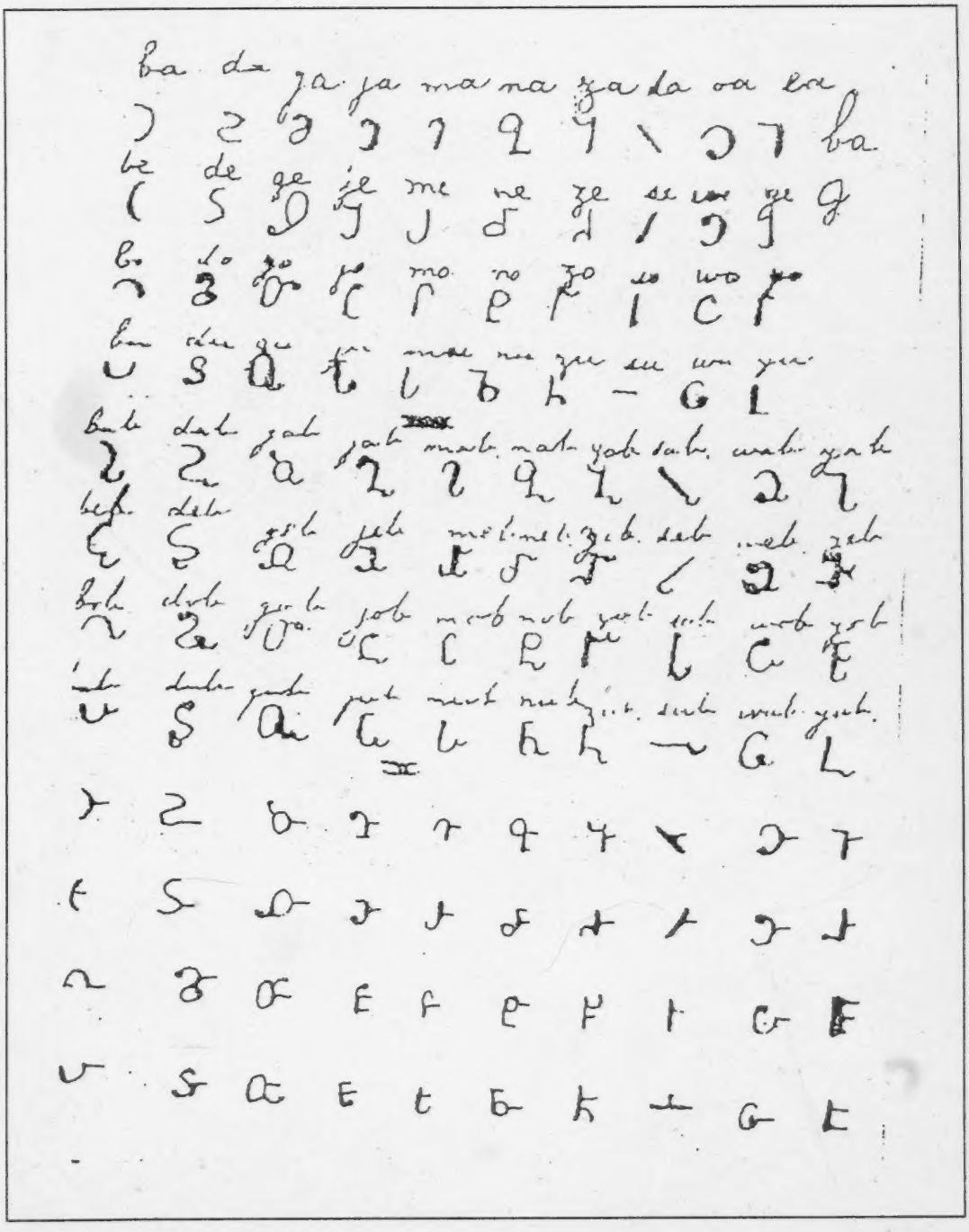
55-63 are blank

64.

[?]voices – thunder – unemege thunder
Compare relationship cousins [?] to – Asiatic
[?]matteh a staff medeg stick or staff
Circumpotatio – a feast in honour of the dead.
Heb left Egypt about 1450 B.C. ~~– In New Holland [?] Hookah. Hottentot.~~ Multitudes of Goths from the north, entering Roxania embracing Prussia Livonia & part of Muscovy &c,
~~See~~ ~~Grace~~ ~~in China~~ Troyan war 1184 B.C. ~~Greenland~~

Appendix 2

Ojibwa Syllabic

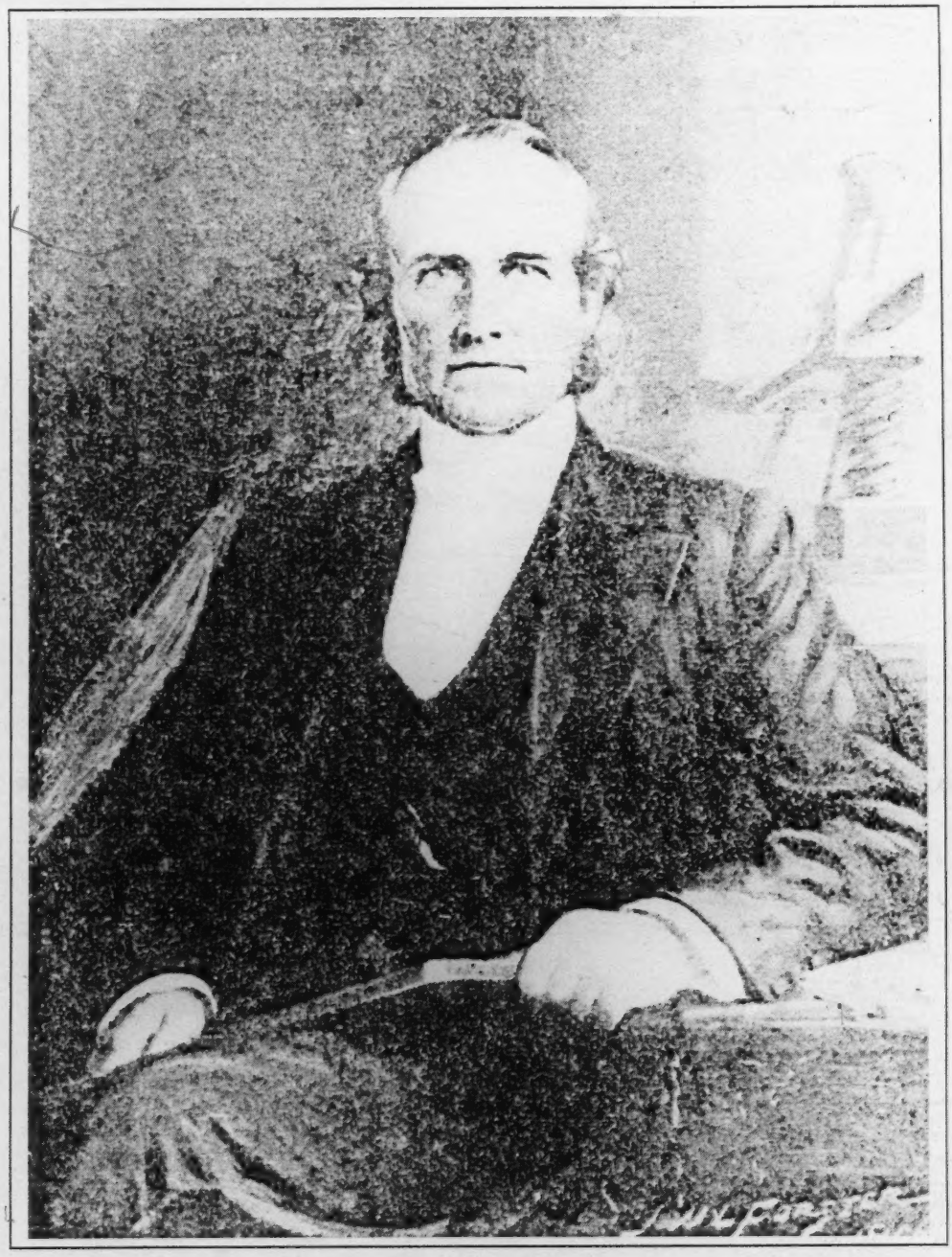


Source: University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file 19.

Appendix 2
Cree Syllabic

Source: University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file 19.

Appendix 3
Portrait of James Evans
1906 painting by J. W. L. Forster

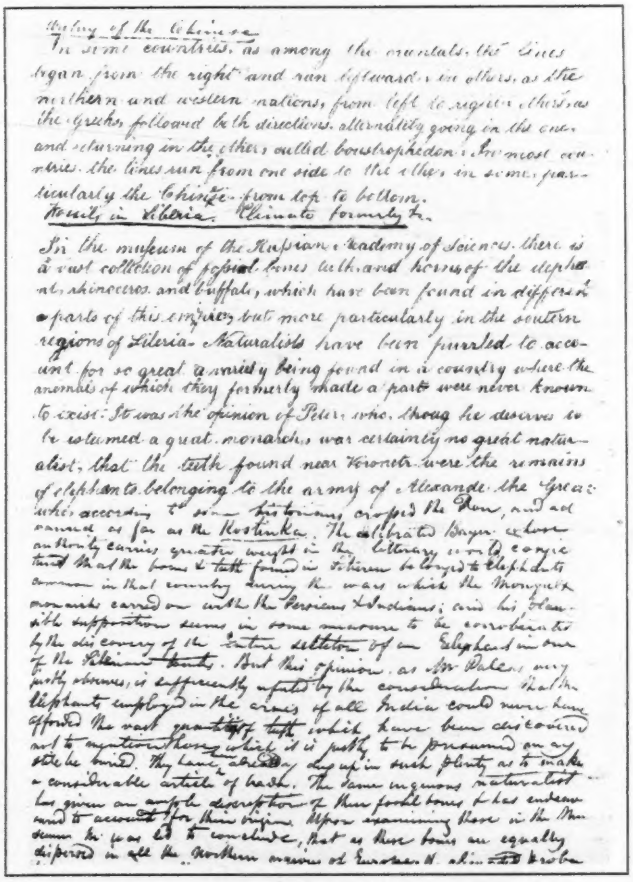


Source: John MacLean, *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto: Missionary Society of Methodist Church, 1918), p. 28.

Appendix 4
HBC Post Journal Entries on the Methodists at Fort Michipicoten September 1838 to May 1839.

9 Sept. [1838]	Sunday – A strong south wind, dark weather, three Methodists arrived from Toronto, two of them are missionary "ministers" Rev. James Evans and Hurlburt, with a Mr. Jacobs a young Indian but well educated as their interpreter they are come to try their labours among the Indians of this Lake. [?] one or two of them pass the winter here the other goes to Fort William.
10 Sept.	Monday - … the missionaries employed getting wood for themselves…
16 Sept.	Sunday - … we all attended the Methodist meeting.
23 Oct.	Tuesday - … Mr. Hurlburt took his passage [?] to Fort William… Mr. Evans to mess with us.
29 Oct.	Monday – Put off two young lads to St. Mary's. Revd. Mr. Evans gone off with them.
18 Nov.	Sunday – Mr. Evans and the two lads arrived from St. Mary's in the afternoon.
21 Nov.	Wednesday – McKay and the Boys went off for the things, which Mr. Evans left about 2 or 3 miles from here.
7 Dec.	Friday – Mr. Jacobs was delivered of a Daughter.
17 Jan. [1839]	Thursday – Revd. Mr. Evans and his interpreter set a net under Ice.
18 Jan.	Friday – Mr. Evans got a trout out of his net.
27 Jan.	Sunday – Old Bird was baptized with Mr. Jacob's infant, the old man was named John Wood.
8 Feb.	Friday – Revd. Mr. Evans began to keep school.
29 March	Good Friday – Mr. Evans performed divine service and was a most affecting discourse and most appropriate for the day.
13 April	Saturday – … a deer was seen this morning by Mr. Jacobs …
23 April	Tuesday – Mr. Evans and his interpreter speared a number of suckers last night.
30 April	Tuesday – … no fish from out own nets, Mr. Jacobs speared a few last night …
8 May	Wednesday – Mr. Jacobs speared a number of suckers and a sturgeon …
9 May	Thursday – McKay fixing Mr. Evans' canoe.
18 May	Saturday – Mr. Evans delivered us his farewell sermon, he was much affected himself, and affected all who understood him.
20 May	Monday – Mr. Evans and his interpreter departed for Fort William. May God be with them and grant them his Holy Spirit in the good work they are going to.

Appendix 5
Sample of a page in the workbook



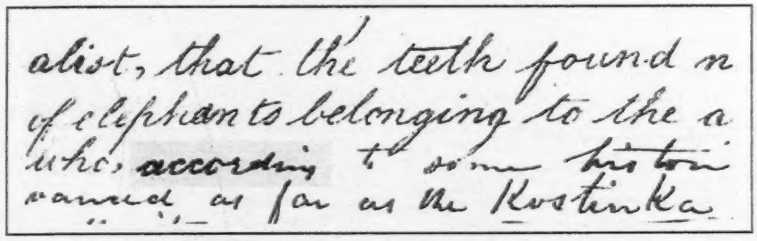
Writing of the Chinese
In some countries, as among the orientals, the lines began from the right and ran leftward; in others, as the northern and western nations, from left to right; others as the Greeks followed both directions, alternately going in the one and returning in the other, called boustrophedon. In most countries the lines run from one side to the other in some particularly the Chinese from top to bottom.

Fossils in Siberia. Climate formerly hot.

In the museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences there is a vast collection of fossil bones, teeth and horns of the elephant, rhinoceros and buffalo, which have been found in different parts of this empire, but more particularly in the southern regions of Siberia. Naturalists have been puzzled to account for so great a variety being found in a country where the animals of which they formerly made a part were never known to exist. It was the opinion of Peter, who, though he deserves to be esteemed a great monarch, was certainly no great naturalist, that the teeth found near Voronetz were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great which, according to some historians, overspread the Plain, and advanced as far as the Kostenka. The celebrated Bayer, whose authority carries greater weight in the literary world, is of opinion that the bones & teeth found in Siberia belonged to elephants common in that country during the wars which the Mongul & Persian carried on with the Persians & Indians; and his opinion with supposition seems in some measure to be corroborated by the discovery of the entire skeleton of an Elephant in one of the Siberian lakes. But this opinion, as Mr Pallas very justly observes, is apparently refuted by the consideration that the elephants employed in the armies of all Indian could never have afforded the vast quantity of teeth which have been discovered and to mention nothing which it is justly to be presumed on any other hand, they have already dug up in such plenty as to make a considerable article of trade. The same ingenious naturalist has given an ample description of these fossil bones & has endeavoured to account for their origin. Upon examining them in the Museum he was led to conclude, that as these bones are equally dispersed in all the Northern regions of Eurasian N. alia and Siberia

Source: James Evans, Workbook, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file 8, p. 48.

Appendix 5
Sample of handwriting change



alist, that the teeth found n
of elephants belonging to the a
mies, according to some histori
ans, as far as the Kostenka

Source: James Evans, Workbook, University of Western Ontario, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, B-4735, file 8, p. 48.

Appendix 6
List of Citations given in Evans's workbook

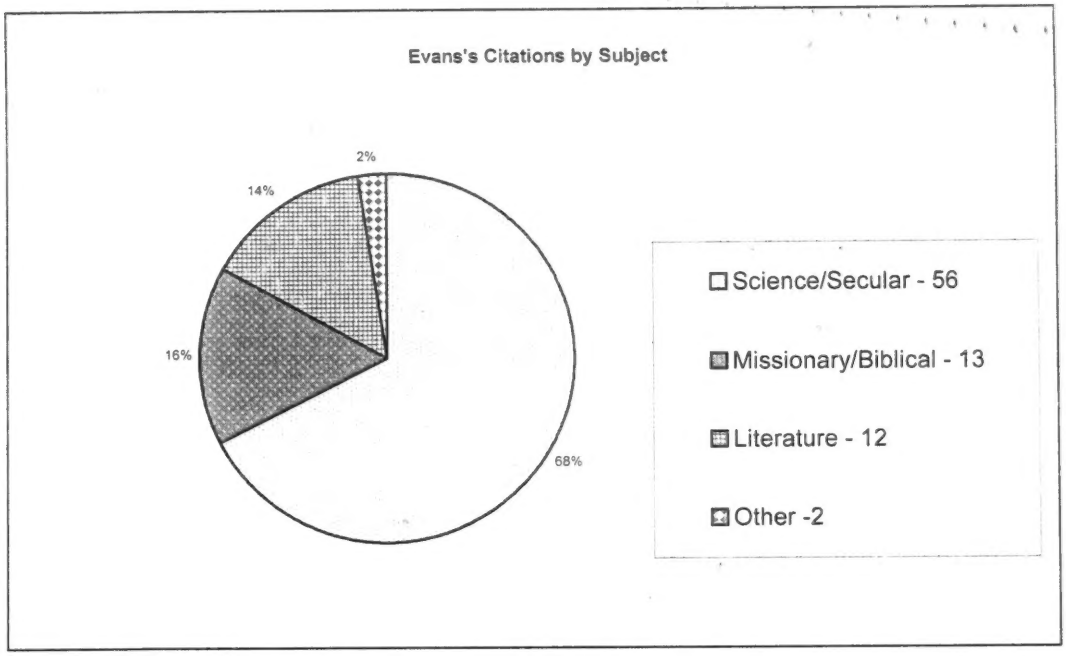
Page	Citation[1]
1	in the second volume of Archeologia Americana…
2	"The new Governments of Spanish America…" [Archaeologia Americana]
2	"the victors were so careless…" [Archaeologia Americana]
3	"the Indian race has arrived at a decrepit old age…" [Archaeologia Americana]
3	Enc. Brit. Art. Mexico
3	Bartholomew de las Casas declares that the Spaniards…
4	"Power and civilization travelling westward…" [Archaeologia Americana]
4	"The Mosquito shore though inhabited…" [Archaeologia Americana]
7	from the Journal of Daniel William Harmon… p. 179
16	I am informed by Mr. Finlayson…
22	fourth vol of Asiatic Researches
23	See Tract by Our. Miss. V.
25	Clark Comment on the 26 verse of the 18th chapter of 1 Kings.
26	Miss. Record London edition, p. 8. [also cites page 64 and 99]
27	page 100 [Missionary Record] and p. 101
28	9 vol of Asiatic Researches
30	Ency Britannica - Art Japan
30	We find in Homer, Virgil and Ovid…
30	The learned Alexander Nisbet, in his system of heraldry…
30	Ency. [Armaments]
30	C. Agrippa in his treatise on the variety of sciences, cap. 81…
32	The following is extracted from Harmon's journal. [pp. 179, 196, 197, 216, 249]
33	Mr. Grosier relates a fact respecting Corea…
34	Enc. Art. Corea.
34	Homer abounds with funeral obsequies…
35	Mr. Halked in his grammar of the Sanscrit [sic]
36	Mr. Shindan says that the number of simple sounds in one tongue are 28…
36	Dr. Kencheck says we have only 11 distinct species of articulate sounds…
37	Homer, Odyss C XIV ver 74
37	Cowper [Homer]
37	IBID v 419 Cowper [Homer]
38	Gen 13.14-15 verses chap 9th
38	Gen 9 Ch 13-14-15 verses
38	Homer in his…

[1] These citations have been entered as Evans wrote them, thus there are instances when different abbreviations are used for the same source, for example, when citing the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Evans uses Ency Britannica, Enc. Brit., Enc. Art., etc. Where it is clear from the content of the text which source Evans is citing it has been added in brackets.

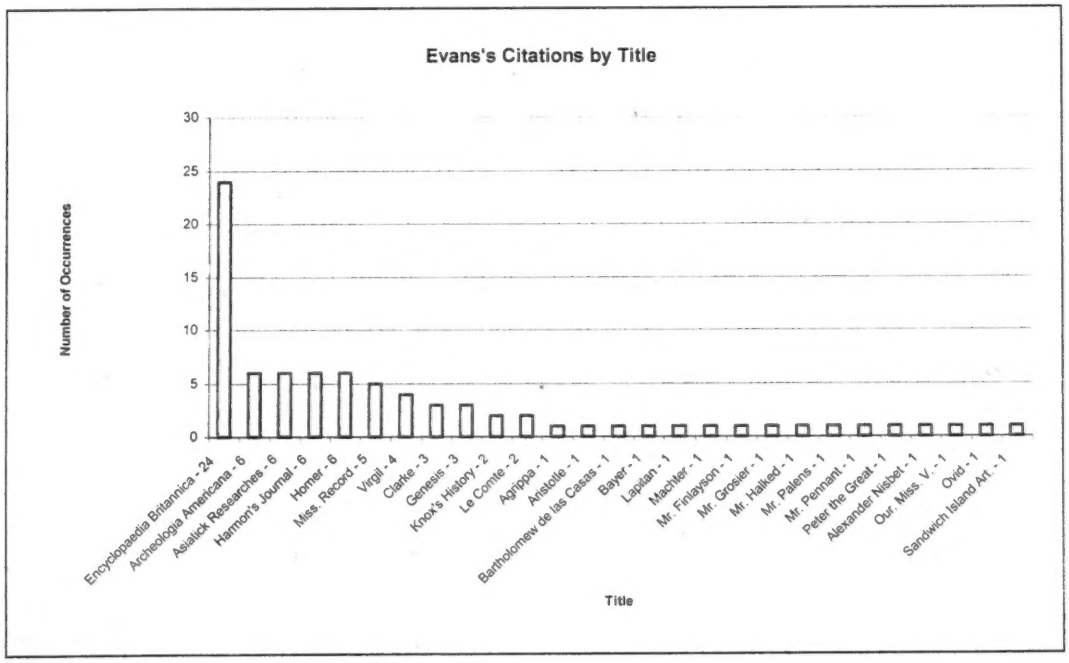
38 Virgil En. v - 606
38 En. ix - 805 [Virgil]
38 Gen 18 Chap v 1..8
39 Knox's history of Ceylone
39 Clarke on Matt 2:1
40 The Encyclopedia Britannica remark under the head of Language…
40 Mr. Pennant supposes these two nations from their features to be the offspring of the Tartars…
41 Enc. Brit. Art Laplan
41 Medea (Ency. Brit.)
41 See likewise Clarke's Com.
41 Le Comte observes, that the Chinese affect long beards…
41 Enc. Brit. Art Beards.
41 Knox's History
42 Enc Brit Art Kalmucs
42 Enc. Brit. [Kamtschalkans]
42 Enc. Brit. Art Kamts.
43 Enc. Brit. Art. Kamtschalkas.
44 As. Res. Vol. 1 - p. 273.
44 As. Res. Vol. 9 - p. 89.
45 As. Res. Vol 1 p. 430.
45 As. Res. Vol 9 p. 320.
45 Enc. Brit. Ar America
46 Ency. Brt. Art - America.
46 (ibid) [Encyclopaedia Britannica Article America]
46 (ibid) [Encyclopaedia Britannica Article America]
46 Ency. Br. Amer.
46 Enc. Brit. America.
47 (ibid) [Encyclopaedia Britannica Article America]
47 (ibid) [Encyclopaedia Britannica Article America]
47 (ibid) [Encyclopaedia Britannica Article America]
47 Aristotle informs us that the Lacedemonians…
47 Chinese according to father le Comte…
48 Peter [the Great], who, though he deserves to be esteemed a great monarch, was certainly no great naturalist…
48 The celebrated Bayer whose authority carries greater weight in the literary world…
48 Mr. Palens very justly observes… [on elephants]
49 Account by Lapitan, who has given the most authentic account of these nations…
49 Enc. Brit. Feasts.
49 [Encyclopaedia Britannica] Art Formosa.
50 [Encyclopaedia Britannica] Art. Funeral rites.
50 thus Achilles in the Iliad lib XXIII…
50 of Pertoclus, and Virgil lib XI ver 81…
51 The ingenious Machter in his Natura et Scriptura Concordia…

51 Sandwich Island Art Alph.
51 Mr. Halked says…

Appendix 7
Figure 1



Appendix 7
Figure 2



Appendix 8
Example of Volume contents
***Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd Edition, 1797.**

Volume 1	A to Ang
Volume 2	Ang to Bar
Volume 3	Bar to Bzo
Volume 4	Caa to Cic
Volume 5	Cic to Dia
Volume 6	Dia to Eth
Volume 7	Etm to Goa
Volume 8	Gob to Hyd
Volume 9	Hyd to Les
Volume 10	Les to Mec
Volume 11	Med to Mid
Volume 12	Mie to Neg
Volume 13	Neh to Pas
Volume 14	Pas to Pla
Volume 15	Pla to Ran
Volume 16	Ran to Sco
Volume 17	Sco to Str
Volume 18	Str to Zym

Topics examined by Evans and which volume they would appear in

Volume 1	America
Volume 3	Beards
Volume 5	Corea
Volume 7	Feasts, Formosa, Funeral rites
Volume 9	Japan, Language, Lapland, Kalmucs, Kamtschalkans
Volume 11	Medea, Mexico

Appendix 9
Bibliography of Works Cited by Evans

Page	Evans's citation Actual citation
page 1	"…are found inserted in the second volume of *Archeologia Americana*…" *Archaeologia Americana. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 2.* Cambridge: University Press, 1836. [reprint New York: Johnson, 1971].
page 3	"Enc. Brit. Art. Mexico." *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Edinburgh: Printed for A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1797. Encyclopaedia Britannica. *Edinburgh: Encyclopaedia Press, 1817.*
Page 3	"Bartholomew de las Casas declares that the Spaniards…" No specific citation available as Evans is not specific about which of de las Casas' writings he is citing.
Page 7	"The first extract which I shall make is from the Journal of Daniel William Harmon…" Lamb, W. Kaye. *Sixteen Years in the Country. The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800-1816.* Toronto: Macmillan, 1957.
Page 22	"…is taken from the fourth vol of Asiatic Researches." *Asiatick Researches: or, Transactions of the Society; Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia. Vol. 4.* Calcutta: The Honorable Company's Press, 1795.
Page 23	"See Tract by Our. Miss. V."
Page 25	"The following account is from Clark Comment on the…"
Page 26	"Miss. Record London edition p. 8."
Page 30	"We find in Homer, Virgil, and Ovid that their heroes had diverse…" Evans uses an early Cowper version of Homer's *Odyssey.* William Cowper, ed. *The Odyssey of Homer* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1947) [originally translated by Cowper in 1791].
Page 30	"The learned Alexander Nisbet, in his system of heraldry…"
Page 30	"The famous C. Agrippa in his treatise on the variety of sciences…"

Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences,* Catherine M. Dunn, ed. (Northridge, California: California State University Foundation, 1974), pp. 290-294. Cap. 81. discusses the notion of heraldry and describes the crests used by various peoples in the past.

page 33 "Mr. Grosier relates a fact respecting Corea…"

page 35 "Mr. Halhed in his grammar of the Sanscrit…"

page 36 "Mr. Shindan says that the number of simple sounds…"

page 36 "Dr. Kencheck says we have only 11 distinct species…"

page 37 "Cowper."
This is a reference to the use of William Cowper's translation of Homer's *Odyssey,* see above.

Page 38 "Virgil considers the rainbow a messenger…"

Page 39 "From Knox's history of Ceylone [sic] it appears that the impression…"
Knox, William. *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, In The East-Indies.* London: Royal Society, 1681.

Page 40 "Mr. Pennant supposes these two nations form their features to be…"

Page 41 "Le Comte observes, that the Chinese affect long beards…"
Lecomte, Louis Daniel. *Memoirs and Observations Topographical, Physical, Mathematical, Mechanical, Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical. Made in a late Journey through the Empire of China.* London: Benj. Tooke, 1698.

page 47 "Aristotle informs us that the Lacedemonians…"

page 48 "The celebrated Bayer whose authority carries greater weight…"

page 48 "…as Mr. Palens very justly observes…"

page 49 "…account by Lapitan who has given the most authentic account…"

page 51 "The ingenious Machter in his Natura et Scriptura Concordia…"